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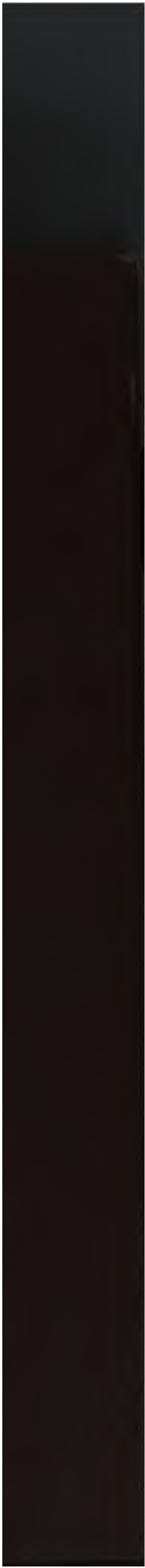
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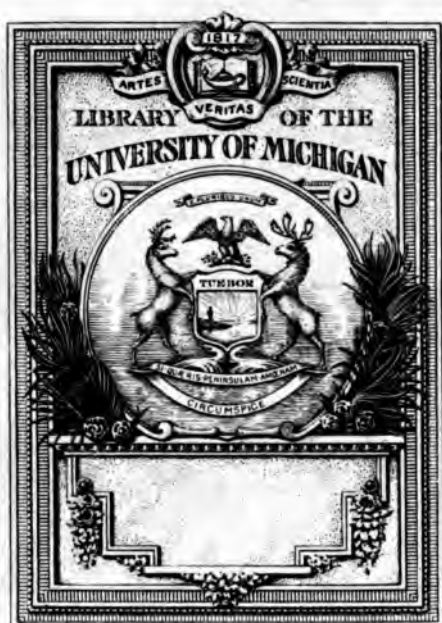
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ANALYSIS
OF
RESEARCHES
INTO
THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF
HISTORICAL TIME,

FROM THE CREATION

TO THE ACCESSION OF C. CALIGULA:

AN

Attempt to ascertain the Dates of the more notable Events in Ancient Universal History by Astronomical Calculation; the mean Quantity of Generations, proportionate to the Standard of Natural Life, in the several Ages of the World; Magistracies, National Epochs, &c.; and to connect, by an accurate Chronology, the Times of the Hebrews with those of the co-existent Pagan Empires; interspersed with Remarks on Archbishop Usher's Annals of the Old and New Testament.

Subjoined is an Appendix, containing Strictures on Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, and on Mr. Falconer's Chronological Tables, from Solomon to the Death of Alexander the Great.

BY THE REV. ROBERT WALKER,
RECTOR OF SHINGHAM, NORFOLK.

The purest and most fruitful Source of Ancient History is, doubtless, to be found in the Holy Bible. BIELFIELD ON UNIVERSAL ERUDITION.

L O N D O N:

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in Bond-street.

1796.



TO
THE REVEREND AND LEARNED,
THE PROFESSORS AND OTHER MEMBERS
OF
BOTH THE FLOURISHING UNIVERSITIES
IN ENGLAND,
THIS SPECIMEN OF SACRED CRITICISM
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY THEIR MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be addressed. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. Next, it is important to gather relevant information and data. This can be done through research, consultation with experts, or by analyzing existing resources.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to develop a plan or strategy. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable parts and determining the best approach to solve each part.

4. After the plan is developed, it is time to implement the solution. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring progress to ensure that the solution is effective.

5. Finally, it is important to evaluate the results of the solution. This involves comparing the actual outcomes with the expected results and identifying any areas for improvement.

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IT was the author's intention to publish, several years since, the result of disquisitions, begun in early life and continued amid a variety of professional labours, not to mention emergent avocations, and peculiar difficulties, from the mysterious nature of the subject; but most of all, from the want of a collateral history, commensurate with the Sacred Annals of the Hebrews. A record, similar to the Chronicles of the Kings in Judah and Israel, well attested, proceeding from the same point of time, and referring to the same persons, events, and dates, would have been a desirable acquisition.

SUCH a separate record never did exist. For from the BEGINNING, as defined by Moses, to that POINT in time, with which the Sacred Annals terminate, nothing is with certainty known, respecting the Gentile Antiquities, besides the reports of the inspired writers; and whatever events they have preserved from oblivion, so far from comprising a full history of all nations, amount to no more than a few concise hints concerning a very few of the idolatrous tribes, contiguous to Babylonia and Palestine.

ACCORDING to Archbishop Usher, (who in the arts of computation, and historical arrangement, excelled all his predecessors), the Hebrew scriptures contain the

History of 36 centuries, measured by astronomical years, singly, or in combination, generations, magistracies, &c. Moderate and every way credible, though not universally adopted, is this quantity of intermediate time. That luminary of his age, having long poised, in an equal balance, the merits of the Hebrew and Greek computation, from Adam to Abraham, found the former to preponderate, and judiciously decided in favour of evidence, stamped with every signature of probability and truth.

His preference, more from the strength of reason, than respect to the authority of his name, *reformed* the sentiments of his country, and *confirmed* those on the continent, wherever assent to the Hebrew chronology had not previously obtained an establishment, as, indeed it had done, in the western church, from the days of Jerome; and about the era of the Reformation, it derived canonical authority from a decree of the council at Trent, before, or about, A. D. 1542.

In Britain, however, during the currency of the xviiith century, the spurious chronology of the Septuagint, so justly exploded 150 years ago, has again risen into credit, and superseded the genuine notations of Moses, the first Chronologer and Historian.

This gradual change of national opinion, concerning the wilful corruption of the Hebrew oracles, and the superior integrity of the Alexandrian version, (chiefly with regard to those numbers which determine the years of the world prior to Abraham), disconcerted the authors' measures, and unavoidably protracted the
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design of publishing his arrangements of the Sacred History, constructed on the authority of the Hebrew numbers *, the prime source of computation.

IN a Dissertation not yet published, but kept in reserve for the RESEARCHES, the comparative merits of the Hebrew and Greek computations are, at large,

* Slow was the transition from the reformed chronology by Usher, to the antiquated errors of the Alexandrian school: In 1722 Whiston published the first volume of his essay for restoring the true text of the Old Testament. Other authors adopted his wild position, that the extended chronology of the Greek Pentateuch is preferable to the more concise scheme of the Hebrew text. Kennicott collated a great many MSS. not without the hope of finding a considerable majority in favour of the world's superior antiquity. All his writings, those published AFTER the edition of his Hebrew Bible not excepted, express his full conviction, that the Jews of the second century wilfully mutilated the chronological notations in the Hebrew GENESIS: but the result of his laborious investigations did not justify the augmentation of any one number, much less of all. His learned contemporaries, however, gave him implicit credit for a decision, absolutely incapable of evidence, sufficient to enforce belief;—the authenticity of the Septuagint Chronology. By respectable authors has this doctrine been maintained, (1.) in a Sermon, printed 1792, where it is affirmed, "That the space from the hour of the Fall to the present day is full 7000 years;"—and (2.) in a late English version of the Pentateuch, the exaggerated numbers in the xith chapter of GENESIS are taken from the 70 Interpreters (as they are called), under the solemn declaration, that the version is faithfully translated from corrected texts of the original. In the former case, extreme credulity, in the latter, the deceiverbleness of Romish imposture, is exemplified.

considered, and a more succinct view exhibited in the ensuing ANALYSIS. Be it, in a form some what more diffusive, remarked, that

1. THE marvellous stories, transmitted concerning the formation of this version, if true, amount to much stronger evidence, than that alleged for the authenticity of the original; or, to invert the argument, is it probable, that the testimony of Moses, alone, was sufficient to induce conviction; and that the testimony of 70 Scribes, shut up in separate cells, who all translated the same writings, so as not to vary in one phrase or particle, was requisite to establish the honesty, skill, and inspiration of the translators? If this query be answered in the affirmative, unavoidable is the inference, that LEWIS GEDDES was under obligations to produce evidences of his skill and fidelity, 70 degrees stronger than Moses for his veracity as an inspired writer, which character this consummate critic has ventured to controvert, with needless repetitions of his belief.

2. KENNICOTT alleges, that some copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch, having the larger numbers, were extant in the 4th century. On the report of Eusebius the credibility of this fact is said to rest. Other evidence is produced to confirm the belief of copies existing in the 7th, and even subsequent centuries*. With all deference to the veracity of these witnesses, he it remarked, that their evidence is good for nothing. It ought to have been proved, by evidence, direct or circumstantial, that copies having the larger numbers did

* Kennicott's remarks on select passages, 1787. p. 17.

actually

actually exist before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the date of the Greek version. Be it supposed, though it cannot be admitted, that the incredulous Jews of the second century had mutilated the genuine chronology of Moses, much more probable it is, that certain Christians, more zealous than honest, did actually corrupt certain copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch, by foisting in the amplified numbers of the Greek version. This might have been done by some proselytes from Judaism to Christianity, whose attachment to the enlarged chronology prompted them to procure it the sanction of Moses' authority. In the register of Jacob's family, Gen. xlv. are various interpolations. Joseph's age was but 39 in the 130th of his father. The son at the age of 30 was introduced to Pharaoh, and was then unmarried. After 9 years, on the arrival of Jacob, Manasseh and Ephraim are in the Hebrew mentioned as the whole of Joseph's family. But in the Greek version Manasseh and Ephraim had, each, two sons and a grandson. These were undoubtedly taken by the translators from a more recent catalogue. In like manner, six or seven sons of Benjamin were inserted in that list, from the Hebrew books of numbers, or 1 Chronicles; many ages, perhaps, before the date of the Septuagint version. Moses could not possibly construct that register in its present form: so many and obvious are its errors. Kennicott did not apprehend it to be in the least degree corrupted; and in none of his bulky volumes does one hint occur for an emendation.—These, and the like interpolations, might have

small a number of men should agree in a fraud, than that the whole Jewish nation, magistrates, priests, levites, scribes, and people, did unanimously vitiate their sacred books. Such a project could not have been executed without a controversy, and historians would have recorded the names of the agents, the time, the place, the motives, the circumstances, which obstructed or favoured the reception of the scheme. The impostor Aristas takes notice, that only one true copy of the Hebrew original was transmitted from Jerusalem to Alexandria. To prevent the danger of a shameful detection, that one copy, if dismembered and destroyed, could never be produced, as an evidence either of fidelity or fraud. But at Jerusalem an immediate discovery must have been unavoidable.

6. It must farther be considered, that the translators of the Septuagint, whatever was their number, had very specious and prevalent inducements to amplify the Hebrew antiquities. Herodotus, misled by the ostentatious vanity of the Egyptian priests, assigned to that Empire an incredibly remote establishment. This national pride, like the pestilence, soon infected the contiguous inhabitants of Samaria and Phœnicia. The former, one full century prior to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, had procured a copy of the law for the use of the temple on mount Gerizim; and from every probable circumstance it is inferred, that the amplified numbers were first inserted in that copy, [the Samaritan] and afterwards in the Greek version, where freedoms, far more unreasonable, were taken with the venerable original; which

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which, however, both parties left immaculate. The result of all these presumptions is, that the numbers of the Hebrew text were not retrenched, but those of the Greek version exaggerated. Be the terms of the indictment, as framed by Jackson and Kennicott, inverted, the following will be its tenor :

“ THE translators at Alexandria had a mind to add one century to the ages of all the patriarchs before they begat children, and to shorten in proportion the after-term of their lives : but they found, that, if they augmented the ages of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, before they begat children, (as they had done of all the rest), they must, by this reckoning, have extended these three lives beyond the Flood.” Every competent and impartial judge, who weighs probabilities in an equal balance, will pronounce, without hesitation, that the Alexandrian Jews, biassed by an attachment to an exorbitant chronology, added about fifteen centuries to the Mosaical numbers, with the view of sheltering the Hebrews from the supposed reproach of an upstart race, and a recent origin.

7. KENNICOTT feigns an imaginary motive which he thinks influenced the Jews of the second century. “ Let it not be forgotten, that their plan was to bring back the birth of Jesus Christ from the vith to the ivth Chiliad, from about the year 5500 to 3760 ; in order to prove, that, at the birth of Jesus, the time for the Messiah, was not then come *.”

* Gen. Dissert. p. 32. and Remarks, p. 26.

THE

THE Jews were indeed inexpert chronologers, and the primitive Christians still less accomplished. The former anticipating the birth of Abraham by 60 years, and retrenching almost two centuries from the duration of the Persian Empire, allow about 3760 years from Adam to our vulgar era. But these mistakes had no reference to the term specified for the advent of the Messiah. Their computation was much more accurate than that of the Christian Fathers, prior to Jerom and Augustine. If the birth of Christ be brought into coincidence with 5500, the date exceeds the truth by almost 15 centuries, whereas, that assigned by the masters of the synagogue falls short by about 244 years. On the authority of tradition, they believed that the continuance of the world would be six millenaries, divided into three equal periods, under the Patriarchs, the Law, and the Messiah; and the viith millenary they characterised as sabbatical. This is the doctrine of their Gemara, or collection of traditions; but it certainly was much more ancient. The opinion is reported by Barnabas, the companion of the apostle Paul, and was maintained by others of the Christian Fathers even those of the FIRST century*.

8. HERE is direct historical evidence, authenticating the adherence of the incredulous Jews of the FIRST century to the chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch, in direct contradiction to those of the Christian Fathers, whose authority is alleged for the first introduction of

* Bp. Watson's Theological Tracts, vol. iii. p. 56.

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the abbreviated reckoning in the SECOND century. The truth is, that the Christian Fathers were themselves the heretics of that age, as far as the computation of times is concerned. Except on this one principle, the plenary inspiration of the Alexandrian interpreters, it never can be affirmed, that Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem in, or about, the year of the world 5500. The Hebrew notations connect this memorable event with the close of the ivth millenary. But if this latter date be rejected the attribute of inspiration is transferred from Moses to these interpreters,—a set of men whose names were never recorded in history, of whose abilities their version gives a very contemptible specimen, and whose want of principle, in giving their sanction to the absurd fictions of paganism, in opposition to the authority of a venerable record, (which they were under sacred obligations to translate with fidelity), transmits their infamy to all ages.

9. OBVIOUS are the reasons, which induced first the Hellenist Jews, and afterward those Christians who had abjured gentilism, to prefer the Greek version of the Old Testament to the original Hebrew. One motive, as self evident, supercedes a train of arguments ; both parties were totally ignorant of the language, in which the sacred oracles had been composed.

THE posterity of those Jews, who accompanied Onias, the first high priest of the temple built in Egypt, like to that at Jerusalem, during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, having acquired the Greek tongue, which had become vernacular over the whole Macedo-
Egyptian

Egyptian Empire, entirely forgot the Hebrew. For this reason the scriptures, according to the Greek version, were universally read in that temple, in all the synagogues, and in all the private families, of the land.

WHEN the gospel was first preached in Egypt, Syria, and other provinces where the Greek language was spoken, the apostles, and other Christian missionaries, went into the synagogues, and preached the doctrine of the cross. Wherever they found disciples, appeals were made to those Greek scriptures which testified of Christ; because their hearers understood no other. Hence easy it is to account for the quick reception of the Septuagint Bible, and its universal use, both in the Jewish and Christian assemblies, dispersed over the kingdom of the Greeks.

It is, however to be observed, that neither the one party, nor the other knew the distinction between the chronology of the Hebrew original, and of the Greek version. Without the least suspicion of an attachment, in the translators, to the exorbitant computations of the gentiles, they implicitly received the notations of years expressed in that version.

THE Jews, who continued in Palestine from the reign of Cyrus to the Christian era, natural it is to suppose, retained for a much longer space of time the use of their mother-tongue, and the reading of their original Scriptures; nor does it appear that they generally preferred the enlarged chronology of the Hellenists, before the time of their total dispersion.

10. AFTER the overthrow of Jerusalem, Rome became the mother church. Before the end of the first

century nearly the whole of the scriptures was published in Latin *, which, under the title of the ITALIC VERSION, taken from the LXX. was most probably read in the Roman church from the Apostolical age for several centuries. Hence is inferred the almost universal predilection of the Christian Fathers, in favour of the Greek chronology. In the fourth century Jerom, dissatisfied on this account, (perhaps, among others), with that version, prepared an entire new translation from the Hebrew, and consequently restored the primitive Mosaical computation. Thus was the ITALIC VERSION superseded by a substitute, which the synod at Trent pronounced CANONICAL.

“ THE whole Christian church, eastern and western, and all the ancient celebrated writers of the church, neglected the Hebrew computations, and adhered to the Greek; till in the late century, some, but not all of the Roman writers, in regard to the decree of the council of Trent about the vulgar Latin, took to the Hebrew computations; not because they were the Hebrew, but because the vulgar Latin agreed with them. Baronius observes, that the church used anciently to compute the years from the creation, not according to the Hebrew, but according to the Septuagint, and cites many authors to confirm it. He might justly have cited every ancient writer, except St. Jerom and St. Austin. Among the moderns, Beza was the first that had any doubts about the Greek chronology; I say, *had doubts*, for he never absolutely rejected it, though he seemed more

* Gregory's Church History, vol. i. p. 70.

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inclined

inclined to the Hebrew. A few followed his opinion ; and they are but a few, in comparison of the many that have gone the other way *."

IN times more liberal, and consequently less perilous, Usher brought the subject to the test of cool dispassionate criticism, and decided in favour of the Hebrew notations. This conclusion, the result of proofs judiciously chosen, and fairly stated, was happily satisfactory to the learned of every denomination : the protestant churches having concurred with the popish, in the article of a truly scriptural chronology, without the least suspicion of swerving from the principles of the reformation, which seems to account for the timid caution of Theodore Beza.

ABOUT the middle of the past century was the reformed chronology exemplified, in the worthy Primate's ANNALS of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT. But after a few years Isaac Vossius revived the controversy, and by the injudicious zeal of several learned and eminently good men, during the passing century, is the erroneous system restored. As an antidote to the permanent and general prevalence of a scheme, so incompatible with the integrity of the Hebrew Pentateuch, the author of the RESEARCHES undertakes to produce direct historical evidence that the protracted chronology was first fabricated in the very formation of the Greek version ;—and to evince, that the concise reckoning of Moses allows sufficient time for the population requisite

* Shuckford, vol. i. p. 61.

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to construct the tower of Babel, if the dispersion be referred to the later years of Peleg's life, as the words of the sacred historian naturally admit this sense, and not to the time of his birth. On this principle too it will appear evident, that, in the 75th of Abraham's age, 427 years after the Flood, the account of great kingdoms, magnificent cities, &c. then said to exist, is perfectly consistent with the course of nature, and improvement in arts.—If these positions can be verified, no plausible pretext will remain for the utility of the expanded computation.

IN the following sheets a subject coeval with time, and wide as the planetary system, is exhibited in miniature. It is an attempt to erect Ancient History on a firm and permanent basis, — an original epoch in reckoning, and to ascertain the lengths of those fixed terms in computation, of which the sum defines the past age of the world, at any given period. Thus are events, prior, co-existent, or successive, disposed in their natural order. For these ends the Hebrew books, the most ancient and best attested in the world, are presumed to afford the most certain intelligence.

FROM the gradual improvements in natural knowledge, these oracles of inspiration derive an accession of evidence in every age. By critical skill in ancient tongues and usages, the sacred phraseology acquires precision and significance. Reason is congenial with faith, and even science gives her sanction to revealed truth. Astronomy and Chronology, applied to the Sacred History are, happily subservient to establish the

belief of a wise, merciful, and just Providence superintending the Universe. If at any time, emergent perplexities occur, to surmount which these useful arts are inadequate, Genealogy suggests such arrangements, as correspond to the term of natural life, in the various periods of time.

By several authors of eminent abilities and learning, have the genealogies from the first to the second Adam been examined, but successfully adjusted by none. From Jacob to the dissolution of the Hebrew monarchy numerous are the sources of uncertainty : and as far as the writer's knowledge extends, the period from Solomon to Josiah has been overlooked by all the critics and expositors. In this ANALYSIS the principal difficulties have been obviated, and, it is hoped, consistently with the course of nature.

REVEALED religion is not now to be considered as a matter of doubtful disputation ;—an institution which needs the benefit of an APOLOGY. This word implies, imperfection, if not demerit. It has stood the test of TIME, which, aided by the increase of knowledge, never fails to expose the fallacies of imposture, and set forth the lustre of truth. If several parts of the historical scriptures be not yet clearly understood, certain it is, that nature, providence, and grace, have one origin and Lord ; and though mysteries occur wherever we direct our thoughts or eyes, we may trust, that TIME will yet unfold many secrets of unfearchable wisdom, long before the final result of things, when order and harmony shall crown all the works of God.

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TO the pursuit and discovery of truth, fashionable modes of thinking, and the prejudices of hostile parties, have ever been unfavourable. This remark is fatally exemplified in the history of the Pagans, Jews, and Christians. The Pagans censured the Jews because their sacred rites and national laws were *diverse* from all people: and the Jews hated the Pagans, whom they very uncharitably pronounced the *profane* and *accursed* out-casts from the divine favour. One grievous consequence of predominant degeneracy, among the heathen tribes, was the loss of primeval tradition; and then *vain imaginations* supplied the want of *true history*. Generations and reigns, multiplied at pleasure, suggested the notion of enormous antiquity. This was the prevailing foible of the gentile empires, about the time when the oracles of history and prophecy ceased among the Hebrews, which was the era, or dawn of alphabetical composition, over the wide domains of paganism: and that foible had become both extravagant and epidemical, in the age, when the Medo-Persian Empire fell.

WHEN the Alexandrian interpreters set about their version of the Mosaical volumes, the Egyptians had previously claimed, by immemorial prescription, an origin of 36,000 years prior to Cambyfes; nay Cicero reports, that they boasted of celestial observations during the lapse of 470,000 years*. Those interpreters, considering their kingdom as one of the oldest

* De Divin. l. 1.

in the world, wished to impart to the Hebrews, whose religion they professed, a small moiety of the reputation derived from antiquity; and in the manner already set forth, enlarged the times prior to Abraham, by the addition of 15 fictitious centuries. This is one instance of fashionable opinions, in their unhappy influence to mislead the minds of men. Other examples are in reserve.

II. A FORMER hint must here be repeated. Those Hellenist Jews, who had been instructed in the religion of Moses, and with it in the language of Greece, were generally unacquainted with that in which the Pentateuch, and subsequent volumes of the sacred canon, had been composed. They therefore could not discover the frauds of the translators, in amplifying the years of the patriarchal genealogies. Not incongruous with reason or probability is the surmise, that some individuals, at least, of those Hellenists, or that multitudes of their descendants, embraced the gospel. Such proselytes from Judaism to Christianity, doubtless continued as ignorant as before, of the primitive Mosaical chronology; and to the writings of Moses and the Prophets, as then extant in the Greek tongue, were they referred for the things concerning the character of Christ. Be it not supposed, that Jesus or his apostles appeared in that age to give the sanction to any one scheme of Chronology. Much more august were the objects of their commission. Besides, the true chronological numbers, entire and unvitiated, were then, as now, extant in the Hebrew Pentateuch, the sole and supreme standard

standard for computation in every age. The fact here principally intended is the force of early discipline, and of immemorial prescription, on the minds of individuals, sects, and successive generations.

It remains to consider the hostile spirit of faction, in its baneful tendency to pervert the human judgement.

Of the Christian Fathers a very great majority was better acquainted with the Greek, than the Hebrew Bible, and most probably the incredulous Jews of Palestine, in the first century of our era. During the currency of that one century, it may be presumed, the controversy was first broached, concerning the time fore-ordained for the appearance of the Messiah: and the tradition already mentioned seems to have been common to both parties;—that the sixth millenary of the world was the proper date; and, by the Greek computation, the then current century was about the center, or intermediate point, of that age, A. M. 5500.

PRESSED with this perplexing difficulty, the Rabbis of that time, who were best acquainted with the Hebrew notations, betook themselves to the study of the original, and first discovered the profane dissimulation of the Alexandrian interpreters. Thus furnished with well-tempered weapons from the Sacred Armory, these Rabbis might, as they very probably did, argue with the Christians, that in perfect harmony with the genuine Chronology of the world, as stated by Moses, 2000 years were then to elapse before the appearance of the Messiah. Both parties misunderstood the SCRIPTURES to which they severally appealed. The Jews erred in deferring

the advent of their Prince, to the end of the vith millenary, and the Christians, in adding 15 nominal centuries to the then age of the world. The natural effect of such remonstrances would have been conviction on both sides. But the Jews continued incredulous, and the Christians falsely charged their antagonists with the sacrilegious guilt of mutilating their chronology, to elude the characters of time which defined the advent of the Messiah.

12. JACKSON, with our other modern patrons of the Greek chronology, refers to certain records, where it is affirmed, that the Jews kept a yearly festival in honour of the old Greek version, and in pious thankfulness for so great a blessing; but that about A. D. 130, they not only declared it to be full of errors, and forbade the reading of it; but also kept a solemn Fast on the 8th day of Tebeth, in order to curse the memory of its being then made*.

ON the authority of Philo, a contemporary writer, it is but equitable to admit the fact; because it is not rendered doubtful by contradictory evidence; but the assigned reason, favouring so strongly of calumny and of virulence, may justly merit reprobation. Inveterate prejudice steels the heart, so as to obstruct and defeat the operations of sweet humanity, to violate all the regards due to that inviolable, that awful, that sacred thing, TRUTH; and to arm the hand, that organ of skill, power, and mercy, with the bloody weapons of persecution.

* Kennicott, Dissert. ii. p. 366.

MAY it not be presumed, with every signature of truth, that the Jews, yet declared enemies to the doctrine of the cross, convinced that the Alexandrine version of the Pentateuch (from certain sinister motives had been wrested to a partial conformity with the licentious computations of paganism) had detected the gross prejudices of the unprincipled translators, in favour of an incredibly remote antiquity; and, in consequence of a discovery, at once so unexpected and important, employed Aquila to prepare a Greek version less repugnant to the original. That translation was published, and, in process of time, two more by Theodotion and Symmachus, (all within the space of 70 years, ending A. D. 200), in which the genealogical numbers agree in quantity with the Hebrew texts. "It is remarkable, that Eusebius Emisenus who flourished about A. D. 340, mentions Symmachus, (and not Aquila or Theodotion), *as always putting 100 years LESS, in the ancient generations*, agreeably to the Hebrew; so that if the Hebrew chronology was [were] contracted, it was probably done in the interval between Theodotion and Symmachus." The above assertion of Eusebius is given by Montfaucon in his Prelimin. Dissert. p. 54*.

13. THIS assertion of Eusebius Emisenus, though approved by Montfaucon and Kennicott, no less merits rejection, than the slander raised by the Christian Fathers against the Jews of the second century, that they mutilated the genealogical notations in their Pen-

* Kennicott, ii. 369.

tateuch. On testimonies which are highly respectable, and reasons superior to every suspicion of ambiguity, it is maintained, that, after the overthrow of Jerusalem, it was absolutely impossible for the Jews to corrupt, by a national deed, their canonical records. At so recent a period the *mutilation* of their chronology would have availed them nothing. As they acknowledged, that their promised Deliverer had not appeared, a project to *amplify* their chronology would much better have served their purpose. Besides, had they curtailed the years of all the copies in their possession, an equal number, at least, was in the hands of the Christians, who would not suffer so glaring a corruption to pass without spirited remonstrances.

14. ON the whole, whatever reasonable and generous allowance should be made for (here and there) a wilful error by a single hand, or for incidental oversights in the multiplication of transcripts, the Jews were faithful depositaries of their sacred books. The Samaritans enlarged the times in their copy of the Pentateuch, the Alexandrians in their version, and moreover basely inserted a spurious patriarch *. But in other respects the Hebrew chronology has been (by the signal favour of a watchful Providence) transmitted pure, entire, and safe, to the passing generation, at the commencement of the 59th century from the creation.

15. THIS prefatory address could not more appositely end than with the following quotation from a late profi-

* The second Cainan.

cient in Sacred Criticism. "The light, that arose upon the Christian world at the Reformation, hath still continued to increase, and we trust *will shine more and more, unto the perfect day*. The labours of the learned have, from that time, by the blessing of God upon the free exercise of reason and private judgement, been greatly successful in promoting religious knowledge; and particularly in laying open the hidden treasures of divine wisdom, contained in the HOLY SCRIPTURES. Much hath *been* done in this important work, and much still remains to *be* done. Those heavenly stores are inexhaustible: every new acquisition leads on to new discoveries; and the most careful search will still leave enough to invite, and reward the repeated researches of the pious and industrious, to the latest ages. This is a work that demands our first and most earnest regard; the studies and assistance, the favour and encouragement of all. To confirm and illustrate THESE holy writings, to evince their truth, to shew their consistency, to explain their meaning, to make them more generally known and studied, more easily and perfectly understood, by all; to remove difficulties, which discourage the honest endeavours of the unlearned, and provoke the malicious cavils of the half-learned:—this is the most worthy object that can engage our attention; the most important end, to which our labours, in the search of truth, can be directed. Here I cannot but mention, that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end, than the exhibiting of the Holy Scriptures themselves to the people,

INTRODUCTION.

IN an age when the natural measures of time are exactly ascertained, and the arts of computation reduced to systematical precision, it may seem a paradox, that these arts have never been applied to those measures, with a degree of success which infallibly determines the past duration of the world.

CHRONOLOGY can be carried no farther back than the most remote point in historical time. All beyond is the region of pure astronomical operations, which mark imaginary limits in antemundan duration.

THE vulgar Christian Era, with respect to which all dates are denominated prior or subsequent, is, by immemorial prescription, accounted the center of astronomical calculations. For example, from the first of January A. D. 1795, count back 1794 solar tropical years, the reckoning is carried up to January 1st in the number of the Julian period 4714, where the era begins with unity. Hence continue the retrograde series of natural years up to that first point, which Moses calls the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth ;—THERE measured Time begins.

B.

Com-

Computation may proceed farther, if the existence of the planetary system be supposed: but beyond the primary source of measured duration, divided into distinct portions, by the revolving luminaries, neither chronology nor history can proceed.

How is the quantity of this retrograde series defined? By fixed periods, extending progressively from the origin of things, to the time of the crucifixion. The historical records of the Hebrews, it is true, leave a void space of more than four centuries, prior to the annals of the New Testament. But this apparent deficiency is abundantly compensated, by the infallible oracles of prophecy, which specify an interval of 490 years, to commence with a certain date, subsequent to the return of the captives from Babylon, and to end with the cutting off of the Messiah. The series in the retrograde order, is thus completed:

From the Crucifixion,

To the date of Ezra's Commission	-	490
Overthrow of Jerusalem and the Temple		130
Foundation of the first Temple	-	426
Release from Egypt	-	480
Date of the sojourning in Canaan and Egypt	-	430
Termination of the Deluge	-	428
Creation	-	1656
		<hr/>
		4040

It is to be noted, that the computation begins with the time of the vernal equinox in the year of our Lord's passion; and therefore ends with the same cardinal point in the first year of the world, though six months

Before the CRUCIFIXION.

3

after the creation; for at the Exodus was introduced a change of stile, by which the seventh month of the primitive year, as-anciently computed, became the first, as then altered: "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year."

By the Julian calendar, every Hebrew year, counted from one autumnal equinox to another, falls in with two numbers of the Julian period. The first year of the world therefore expired the 31st December 706; and the second began January 707. By this rule, the time of the crucifixion coincided with the seventh month of the year 4041 from the creation. Hence deduct 37, the current year of Christ's life, the time of his nativity is connected with 4004.

THE presumed uncertainty of an infallible standard in computation has long perplexed chronologers. In the Hebrew Annals the notations of time have every reasonable claim to preference. That those which define the interval from Adam to Abraham have been egregiously corrupted, by mutilation or accident, hath often been affirmed, but never proved. The numbers in the vth and xith chapters of Genesis, as exhibited in the Greek version, exceed those in the Hebrew original by about 1500 years. But the translators, in compliance with that epidemical affectation of a remote origin, which THEN had become prevalent among the Gentile nations, enlarged, (by one century each), the age of fifteen patriarchs at the birth of their specified sons. Impelled by the same vanity, Josephus, having the Hebrew text full in his view, preferred the

exaggerated chronology of these interpreters, under the false pretence of translating faithfully from the original. The Samaritan copy differs from both, sometimes by defect, sometimes by excess; but none of all the three is of equal authority with the genuine Hebrew Annals.

Or the world's origin Moses gave the first, and the only authentic account; and thence to the year of his own death continued the history in an orderly series of striking events, intermixed, or rather inseparably connected with such decisive characters of time, as define the past duration of the world, at the entrance into Canaan. The whole interval is 2554 astronomical years, six months.

WITH equal signatures of precision, and without one vacant space, is the chronology of the Hebrews professedly, and of the Pagan nations incidentally continued from one stage to another. Where the history by Moses ends, there that by Joshua begins, not without obvious hints of a continuation. In the same manner is the line of chronological order prolonged in the history of the Judges, including that of Ruth, to the death of Samson. In the two books of Samuel, and the first of the Kings, is the history of Samuel's government, with that of the first two monarchs, described, in a regular series of events, and with requisite notations of time. In the 4th of Solomon were the foundations of the Temple laid, during the currency of the 480th year from the Exodus. Deduct the 40 years spent in the desert; the interval from the passage over Jordan is 440: and $440 + 2554 = 2994$, which

sum

sum is the age of the world in full years, not including the 4th of Solomon, whence a new term in computation begins.

FROM the 4th of Solomon to the 3d of Jehoiakim, both included, is a period of 408 years. Add the 70 years of the captivity; $408 + 70 = 478 + 2994 = 3472$, the age of the world at the return from Babylon, excluding the first of Cyrus.

FROM Darius the Mede to the 15th of Darius Nottus, beyond which the canonical records of the Hebrews do not extend, the intermediate space is 128 years, which bring down the computation to A. M. 3600.

THIS long period with respect to the Hebrews, (no part being UNKNOWN or FABULOUS) is all purely HISTORICAL. It has been pronounced an imperfection in the Hebrew annals, that the history contained in them can be authenticated by no collateral testimony. But neither can it be disproved by authentic records of equal antiquity, and credit. Paganism had neither oracles, nor national histories, of so early a date, or so well attested.

As the final period of the Hebrew monarchy drew nigh, the sacred writers had the precaution, or, rather, were supernaturally directed, to connect their national chronology with that of the co-existent Pagan states. For instance, Josiah was contemporary with Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt:—the 4th of Jehoiakim was the 1st of Nebuchadnezzar; whose 18th was the 10th of Zedekiah:—In the 1st of Cyrus were the Jews honourably dismissed from Babylon:—in the 6th of

Darius Hystaspis was the second temple finished:— in the 7th of Artaxerxes Longimanus did Ezra receive his commission; Nehemiah his in the 20th. These and the like notations, though seemingly incidental, are of signal use in connecting the Jewish history with that of the Gentiles. To the same important end are the several chronological eras of paganism eminently subservient;—the Greek Olympiad, the Varroian Epochs of Rome, Nabonassar, the Seleucidæ; Ptolemy's Mathematical Syntaxis, &c.

IN the long interval from Nehemiah to the Evangelists, (and indeed ever after the return from Babylon), the Jews having become tributary to the four monarchies in succession, their history is intermixed, with that of the nations among whom they were dispersed; and is yet extant in the writings, which have been transmitted, either in part or entire, to the present age. Certain fragments of their story, no where else to be found, are preserved in the two Apocryphal books of the Maccabees. Josephus, the glory of his nation, in its last period, has exhibited a perpetual commentary on the inspired historical books, and a continuation of the national annals, collected with great industry and judgment from many repositories of authentic historical information, long since destroyed; but still extant in his valuable books of the Jewish Antiquities and Wars; which extend nearly to the second century of our era. The ingredients of the intermediate history, so far from being deficient, are in far greater abundance, than is necessary to conduct the patient and skilful chronologer from one stage to another,

another, in computation, till he arrive at that brilliant period in pagan literature ;—the Augustan age.

AMONG the Greek authors, of superior note, the following, in the order of time, merit special regard: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Sic. Dionysius Hal. Plutarch, Arrian, Appian, Diogenes Laert. Philostratus, Dion Cassius. The principal Roman Writers whose works yet remaining conduce to adjust the chronology and history of their own nation to computations in use among other states, are either the general historians, as Livy ;—those who wrote of particular periods, as Sallust, Julius Cæsar ;—epitomists, as Eutropius, Florus, Paternulus ;—antiquaries, as Cato, Varro, Gellius ;—biographers, as C. Nepos, &c. Thus was it providentially ordained that no blank space should be left in the long period from the first to the second Adam. In short, from the seventh day of the primeval week, when the Almighty rested from the work of creation, to the first day of that week, when Jesus Christ rose from the grave, as the LIVING HEAD of a NEW WORLD, whether the computation proceed by the combination of natural days into weeks, lunations, equinoxes, and solstices ; by single astronomical years, or circulating periods of such years ; by the generations of men, or the duration of reigns, pontificates, and other magistracies ; not one day can be acquired or lost, during the lapse of 4040 years, six months *.

THE

* It must be admitted, that, in reckoning from the primary source of measured time, to the crucifixion, by the Julian year,

THE years from the day on which Christ rose from the grave, to that on which the Creator rested from his work, have, by notations expressed in the holy oracles, been circumscribed within the limits of 4040 years, six months. A perfect cube, thrown in any direction, on a plain surface, must ever light upon an equal side. If the computation now proceed in the progressive order, from the 7th of the primeval week, to the day on which our Lord rose to an endless life, the result in days, weeks, and years, will be the same; even though periods different in quantity be adopted.

Years from the first of Adam, in the year of the world	-	-	00
To the end of Noah's 601st year	-	-	1657
Commencement of Abraham's sojourning	-	428	2085
Departure of the 12 tribes from Egypt	-	430	2514½
Foundation of the first temple	-	480	2995
Its conflagration	-	426	3421
Date of Ezra's commission	-	130	3551
True historical year of Christ's nativity	-	453	4004
Year of the crucifixion	-	37	4040½

(a recent and unastronomical measure), an excrescence of 31 supernumerary days is collected. But retrench this nominal quantity of time, which has no root in planetary revolutions, no difference will remain, except that between time real and apparent, which is itself the subject of calculation.

CHAR

C H A P. I.

Vulgar and Historical Dates of the Christian Era.

PRIOR to the resurrection of letters in Europe very little progress had been made in the art of computing times. The use of astronomical chronology to methodize history was no sooner perceived, than Scaliger, Petau, and other learned foreigners, applied their great talents to the elucidation, of a subject, till then involved in a maze of perplexity. Not altogether fruitless were their efforts; for partial light was deduced from palpable darkness.

IN the past century the Most Reverend Dr. James Usher, primate of Armagh, finding the schemes of all his predecessors in chronological enquiries, equivocal, discordant, and contradictory, embarked in the same arduous enterprise, not without the sanguine hope of momentous discoveries. The result was a system of all others the nearest to truth, yet not altogether exempt from imperfections. His *Annals of the World*, though the capital production of a great master, and
hitherto

hitherto justly esteemed, as an invaluable treasure of ancient universal history, are constructed on an erroneous hypothesis.

DIONYSIUS the Little brought the vulgar era of the nativity too low by four years. For from the gospel history it is evident, that Jesus was born while Herod was living; and many infallible characters of time evince, that this prince died in the spring, a short time before the solemnization of a passover, and a few days after an eclipse of the moon, observed at Jericho, on the morning of the 13th March, A. P. Jul. 4710. If the 25th of the preceding December were, as commonly supposed, the true date of our Saviour's birth; if, by the order of Herod, the innocents were massacred on the 28th of the same month; and Jesus, in the intermediate space, were removed into Egypt, as he certainly was, prior to that massacre;—it must follow that the presentation of him in the temple was deferred till after his return from Egypt. But the law had prescribed the 40th day of every male-infant's life for that solemnity: and the warning to return from Egypt was subsequent to Herod's demise, which did not happen before the 20th of March. Consequently our Lord's presentation in the temple and the massacre of the innocents were prior to the 28th December A. P. J. 4709. The date of his birth is, with the highest degrees of historical probability, referred to the feast of tabernacles in that year.

THUS, without incurring the censure of a rash determination, may the birth of Christ be connected nearly

Of the CHRISTIAN ERA.

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nearly with the time of the autumnal equinox A. M. 4004, coincident, as before, with the number of the Jul. Per. 4709.

By this arrangement is the metachronism of the Dionysian era rectified. The worthy Metropolitan, however, fixing on this true historical term of the nativity, pronounces it, (by a strange confusion of dates), the vulgar reckoning, and removes the genuine center of computation four years higher, so as to coincide with A. M. 4000.

IN Chronology, as in other arts, one error is the source of many more. To give his scheme the figure of coherence, he found it necessary to antedate the Christian era by four years, and to take as many from the then past age of the world. By this injudicious experiment the primate trusted, that, instead of the common and vulgar, he should obtain a true and natural epoch of the nativity of Christ *. Having transferred that event from 4008 to 4004, he had already obtained the true and natural term. Most preposterous it certainly was to anticipate the historical date of the Christian era by four years, and to retrench as many from the source of historical time. The general result of this fundamental oversight pervades the whole CHRONOLOGY of the ANNALS, and assigns to every historical event an erroneous date, with respect to one or other of the three chronological reckonings, by the years of the world, of the Julian period, or by

* See his Preface.

those

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those before A. D. 1. But the more particular misarrangements are, 1. The fifth year of the world is accounted the first. 2. The historical year of the nativity is confounded with the vulgar or Dionysian. 3. To circumscribe the interval, from the creation to the Christian era, within the narrow limits of 40 centuries, four years are withdrawn from the reigns between Afa and Hezekiah. Let the four years taken from the age of the world be restored; the first will coincide with the number of the Jul. Per. 706, not 710 as in the Annals;—the 16th of Ahaz with A. M. 3282, not 3277;—the historical year of the nativity with 4004, not 4000;—and the Dionysian or Common, with 4008, not 4004.

THOUGH the usual computation by A. D. is at variance with astronomy, chronology, and history, “Yet,” (as Holder remarks), “since it is, and has universally been received over all Christendom, our compute by it is certain, and not liable to any error*.”

As a term of art, established by immemorial prescription, it may be retained in expressing dates. Those, who study precision in reckoning, have only to recollect, that the passing year 1795, is in truth the 1799th from our Lord’s birth exclusively. To this number, if the years of historical time, 4004, prior to our era, be added, ($1799 + 4004 = 5803$), the result will be the same with that of the common numbers added together. For example, $1795 + 4008 = 5803$.

* Discourse on Time, p. 31.

IN the Annals the long interval from the creation to the overthrow of Jerusalem is divided into seven ages. This division is retained, and the author's deviations from the truth of chronology, under each separately, referred for the subsequent chapters.

IN exploring the source of measured time, and the dates of fixed periods, prior to the era of authentic history among the Gentiles, great expectations of important discoveries were entertained from Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended*; (a work, which every where indicates a superiority of genius, though genius fettered with prejudices in favour of pre-established systems); but the author's hopes, sanguine as they were, ended in the vexation of disappointment. That prodigy of genius, not suspecting fallibility in the decisions of a Metropolitan, whose chronological arrangements had obtained the sanction of general belief, implicitly adopted his fundamental principles, and, like his author, errs with much ingenuity. The great imperfection of Sir Isaac Newton's last, and not most scientific performance, is not extending his line of investigation beyond the days of Eli. Had he discovered the true source of historical time, the learned world would have been indebted to his sagacity for an improved edition of the *Sacred Chronology* from Adam to the Greek Olympiad.

C H A P. II.

*First Age of the World.**Chronology of the Pentateuch.—Events and Dates.*

	A.M. J.P. B.C.		A.M. J.P. B.C.
ANNALS -	o 709	ARRANGEMENTS o	705
Creation -	I 710 4004*	I	706 4008
Deluge ends	1656 2365 2349		1657 2362 2351

A SCHEME of the primeval week, according to both computations, is thus exhibited :

ANNALS.	October.	ARRANGEMENTS.	October.
Days of the week	1 23 B.	Days of the week	1 22 m.
	2 24 m.		2 23 t.
☉ in ☐	3 25 t.		3 24 w.
	4 26 w.	☉ in ☐ ☉	4 25 th.
	5 27 th.		5 26 f.
	6 28 f.		6 27 f.
God blessed and	7 29 f.	sanctified the viith day	7 28 G.

By this scheme it is evident, that the very respectable author, conformably to the general opinion of the

* The Primate's confusion of terms is here exemplified. A. M. 1 is placed in coincidence with the 4004th before the Christian era. He means the vulgar computation; whereas A. M. 4004 is in truth the historical year of Christ's birth, and the 4th before, (but not including), the common term A. D. 1. which last is coincident with the number of the Julian Period 4714.

age

age in which he wrote, supposed, that Saturday was the viith day of the primeval, and of all the subsequent weeks, from the creation; and that the change from the seventh to the first day of the week, first took place from the day on which Christ rose from the dead. Milled by this problematical hypothesis, the very learned Metropolitan, chose for the source of his calculations the number of the Julian period 710, which was not the first, but the fifth from the origin of things. By the scheme of the Annals Saturday, the 29th October, was the day, which the Creator blessed and consecrated, in its periodical returns, for rest and devotion. But in the proposed Arrangements, which, agreeably to the sacred chronology, assign to the creation an earlier date by four years, Sunday, the 28th October, was the seventh of the primeval week, and its repetitions were observed by the patriarchs, from Adam to Moses, as the weekly Sabbath. At the Exodus the day of holy rest was transferred from the seventh of the patriarchal, to the first of the Mosaical, week; and at the resurrection of Christ the first of the Jewish and Christian week, was, and still continues, astronomically coincident, in the rotation of weeks, with the primeval Sabbath.

THE proofs which establish this conclusion cannot be specified, much less set forth at large, in this brief Analysis. Suffice it to observe, 1. That in the year before, (but not including), the first of the Christian era, 4008, the autumnal equinox fell within the limits of the 25th October. 2. That the two great luminaries were set in the firmament of heaven on the fourth day
of

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of the creation week. According to the ARRANGEMENTS, the moon was full, and the sun in Libra, on Thursday the 25th of October in that week. But in the ANNALS the 25th October was Tuesday, the third of the week *. 3. If the calculation be framed on the principle of Astronomical, (not Julian years), and consequently on the hypothesis of stationary equinoxes;—if likewise this calculation be continued progressively to A.D. 1792—the 28th October fell on a Sunday, the seventh of the patriarchal, but the first both of the Jewish; and the Christian week †. Thus is the uniform rotation of weeks ascertained during the lapse of 58 centuries, now past. Should it be the will of the Almighty to continue the planetary revolutions 58 centuries more, Sunday will again fall on the 28th October, in the year of the world 11,600. With the fundamental principle of the ANNALS, this uniform, and invariable, series of weeks is incompatible.

THE Mosaical chronology is constructed on the genealogy of the patriarchs; the age of each father at the birth of each specified son, respectively, being exactly defined, the sum of the intervals between the several descents, independently on the duration of particular lives, constitutes the measure of the distinct periods from the creation to the deluge; thence to the sojourning of Abraham; and thence to the Exodus.

IN the first and second of these periods each specified year of procreation is counted from and to the autumnal

* See the Scheme.

† Consult the Almanacks for that year.

equinox.

equinox. For example, "Adam lived 130 years and begat Seth." The 130th of the father's life is continued to the subsequent autumnal equinox, and from that cardinal point is computed the first year of the Son. This is the general rule. Otherwise the same year would be twice counted.

THIS first age of the world comprehends 1657 expanded years, ending with the six hundredth and first year of Noah's life.

Stages of the Flood for astronomical Stile, according to the Hebrew and Roman Calendars.

IN the first series of columns are expressed the numbers, names, and days, of the patriarchal months. On the same line, in the second series, are marked the names and days of the Roman months; and the column on the margin to the right exhibits the alphabetical signatures for the days of the primitive week, the Sabbaths being characterised by capitals. The numbers in the column to the left, denote the days of the flood.

A. M. 1655.	IX M.	Tifri	00	Oct.	23 M.
		I			24 t.
1656.	visible.	☉ in ♈	1		25 w.
			2		26 th.
			3		27 f.
			4		28 f.
			5		29 A.
Yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain	} II	Marchef- van	10	Dec.	3 A.
After seven days, the wa- ters of the flood	} 2		17		10 A.
	C				40

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40	1657. The flood was 40 } days upon the earth.	III Casfeu	26	Jan. 18 th.
150	The waters prevailed 120 } days	VII Abib	16	May 8 t.
151	The ark rested -		17	9 w.
225	Mountain top seen	X Tamuz	1	July 22 G.
265	After 40 days a raven } sent forth	XI Ab	11	Sept. 1 f.
272	After seven days a dove		19	8 f.
279	After seven days the dove } a second time		26	15 f.
286	After seven days the dove } a third time	XII Elul	3	22 f.
319	The ark uncovered ○ in △	I Tifri	1	Oct. 25 th.
375	Go forth of the ark, thou } and thy wife, &c.	II Marchesv.	27	Dec. 20 th.

THAT inestimable monument of astronomical antiquity, Noah's journal, specifies several chronological characters, which define the number and quantity of the patriarchal months, and explain the mechanism of the Hebrew year, in its primitive form. Hence the author of these papers constructed a table in expanded days. In the preceding scheme, those only which are historically mentioned, subsequent to the first week, it was judged proper to insert.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Second Age of the World.

HERE a new term of computation begins with unity. "Arphaxad was born two years after the Flood." The author of the Annals, reckoning the first year of the new world to have begun with the first day of the first month, when Noah removed the covering of the ark, connects the birth of Arphaxad with A. M. 1658. But as Noah evacuated the ark in the 601st year of his life, which ran parallel with 1657, this year is evidently characterised by the sacred historian as the last of the old world; and hence, exclusively, must the new computation proceed. Arphaxad was therefore born during the currency of 1659, and from the subsequent year is his age of 438 years counted. This anticipation abridges the chronology of this and the succeeding periods. But other dates, in this section of the ANNALS, are much more exceptionable.

Time of the Dispersion.

THE date of Peleg's birth, in whose days the earth was divided, coincides with the first year of the second century after the deluge. At the time of his birth, Josephus says, the dispersion of the nations to their several countries did happen *. But as the world was not then sufficiently populous, this interpretation of the sacred historian's words, "*In his days,*" is unnatural. The phrase is strictly proper if

* Ant. I. 6. 4.

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understood to intimate, that the dispersion took place in his life-time.

USHER, Bedford, and Bryant, conjecture that Noah divided the lands among his sons, about the time of Peleg's birth, and before the general dispersion. But pure conjecture, without the colour of historical evidence, is not to be admitted.

THE arduous attempt at Babel, the extent of that structure, as described by the ancients, and the still perceptible vestiges of its ruins, indicate a stage of population, and of progress in arts, incongruous with the hypothesis, that the enterprise was defeated so early as the lapse of the first century from the flood. Every circumstance in the state of the world, taken in connection with the concise reports of sacred history, admits, nay requires, the confusion of tongues, with the consequent separation from Babel, to be brought so low as 100 years before the birth of Abraham. Suppose the 277th year after the flood to be the true date, Noah, Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, Peleg, were then all living, and most probably Japheth, Ham, and Nimrod. During the interval thence to the sojourn of Abraham, a period of 150 years, several political establishments might have been erected, and magnificent cities built, so as to accord with the advanced state of population in that age. Admit this arrangement, no necessity occurs for having recourse to the exaggerated chronology of the Greek Pentateuch.

ON the other hand, if the Archbishop's date of the dispersion be judged preferable, the romantic project at Babel was defeated almost as soon as begun; and no

stronger objection to the accuracy of Moses as a chronologer, and to his veracity as a historian, is supposable. But why should his reputation suffer from the unskilful positions of his commentators?

A BRIEF abstract of corrected dates, in this period, is subjoined, with their chronological characters.

ANNALS.	Yrs of the W.	J. P.	B. C.	ARRANGEMENTS.	W.	J. P.	B. C.
Termination of the flood -	1656	2365	2349	-	1657	2362	2351
Arphaxad born	1658	2368	2346	-	1659	2364	2349
Peleg born	1757	2467	2267	-	1758	2463	2250
The dispersion	1757	2467	2267	-	1934	2639	2074
Abraham born	2008	2718	1996	-	2009	2714	1999
Terah dies	2083	2793	1921	-	2084	2789	1924

SIR W. Raleigh observes, with much judgement and equal spirit, "If we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in Abraham's time, yea, before his birth, we shall find, that it were very ill done, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over deeply between the flood and Abraham, because, in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed *." This pertinent remark is the result of his determination concerning the two questions, whether the time of Peleg's birth were the true date of the dispersion, and the 70th of Terah the year of Abraham's birth? The resolution of these enquiries affirmatively, is the true reason why the Septuagint chronology hath been so generally preferred to the Hebrew, which, if fairly interpreted, removes every objection to the numbers of mankind, at both periods.

* Hist. p. 277.

C H A P. IV.

*Third Age of the World.*I. *Date of the Sojourning.*

THE Annals represent the removal of Abraham, first from Ur, then from Syria, and his entrance into Canaan, as the events of his 75th year. But the history requires a longer interval. In the intermediate stage he built a village, or town, afterward denominated a city, for the accommodation of his little colony. This certainly was not the work of a few months. It seems he called it Haran, after the name of his brother, who had died in the land of his nativity. This circumstance implies the prospect of a permanent residence. By a divine signal, or monition, there he pitched his tent, and from the history it does not appear, that he entertained the thought of a subsequent removal. The primate, however, assumes the postulate, that the patriarch left Chaldea with the explicit foreknowledge of an inheritance in Palestine;—that his progress was interrupted by the indisposition, and death of his father at Haran;—and that he set out thence for Canaan, the place of his final destination, whither he arrived, before the expiration of one full year from the time he left his country, his kindred, and his father's house.

EVERY

EVERY clause of this complex postulate is controvertible. At the command of God, the patriarch departed from Ur, into a land *afterwards* to be shewn to him. From these premises an Apostle infers a conclusion, at variance with the archbishop's position: "By FAITH," not by PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE, "Abraham, when he was called to go out unto a place, which he should *after* receive for an inheritance, obeyed, and went out, *not knowing* whither he went."

ABRAHAM and Lot had gathered substance, and gotten souls, in Haran. Their chief substance was cattle, which had increased by procreation. Their domestics too had multiplied by birth, and by purchase; or, as the Chaldee paraphrast conjectures, by proselytism. All these circumstances justify the supposition, that Abraham considered Syria as the place of his ultimate destination, and that his abode there was protracted beyond the space of a few months.

MUCH more probable is the opinion of Petau and Shuckford, who suppose, that Abraham, with his attendants, was warned to retreat from Ur in his 70th year; that he resided in Haran five years, and entered Canaan at the Age of 76. Of this last date we have the utmost certainty. For after Abraham had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and when he was fourscore and six years old, Hagar bare Ishmael. This notation serves for a proof, that the sojourning in Canaan and Egypt was adopted as a new term of computation. It is carefully to be noted, that the anticipation of one year in this place, and of another at the

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time of Arphaxad's birth, unavoidably antedates the Exodus, the foundation of the temple, and all the intermediate events, by two years.

2. Age of Ishmael when cast out.

USHER, adopting implicitly the opinion of St. Jerome, that Ishmael was 18 years old when ejected; with his mother, from Abraham's family, perplexes the chronology and history of the sojourning in Canaan and Egypt. His age, at the birth of Isaac, was 14 years *.

3. Age of Isaac at the Death of Sarah.

THE Primate, misled by the Authority of Josephus †, again deviates from the Mosaical chronology, by referring the transactions on Moriah ‡ to the 25th of Isaac's age. He was born in the 90th of his Mother's life. She died at the age of 127. Both historians (Moses and Josephus) connect the return of Abraham and Isaac from the altar, with the time of Sarah's death. Josephus, in particular, emphatically remarks, " Sarah died after a short interval ;" whence it is reasonably inferred, that Isaac's age was then 37. By a decisive notation of time, in both the historians, this arrangement is authenticated; " Isaac was 40 years old when he took Rebecca to wife." Moses adds another circumstance, still more determinate; " Isaac brought her [Rebecca] into his mother Sarah's tent,

* Compare Gen. xvi. 16. with ch. xvii. 24. and with ch. xxi. 5.

† Ant. I. 13. 1.

‡ Gen. xxii.

and

and was comforted after his mother's death.* By retaining a pious remembrance of an endeared parent; not without a mixture of grief, during the space of three years, Isaac exhibited an amiable specimen of filial regard. But the supposition, that such grief was prolonged 15 full years, violates probability.

"ON the day that Isaac was weaned Abraham made a great feast; and Sarah saw the son of Hagar mocking. Wherefore she said unto Abraham, cast out this bond-woman and her son.—Abraham sent her and the child away." By what rule of interpretation is that weaning feast deferred to the fourth of Isaac's life, and the expulsion of Ishmael to his 18th year? From no character of time, expressed in the history, does it seem probable, that these incidents were subsequent to the first year of Isaac's age. Josephus very properly observes this connection. "When Sarah had born Isaac, she was unwilling that Ishmael should be brought up with him, and persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to a distant country *."

BUT to reconcile the whole period of sojourning, 430, with the 400, (that part of it mentioned Gen. xv. 13.) Bedford, Kennedy, and others, date the commencement of the less number from the fifth of Isaac, with which they connect the weaning feast, (exactly 400 years before the Exodus). For want of historical evidence, this postulate, as at variance with probability, has been rejected. From the same term, the fifth of Isaac, are computed the 400 years of

* Ant. I. 12. 3.

affliction,

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affliction*, and the mocking of Isaac by Ishmael is specified, by Usher, Bedford, Kennedy, &c. as the first act of persecution. This gloss is, in all its parts, equivocal, and inapposite. For, the text to which they refer implies, that Abraham's seed should sojourn in a land, not their own, 400 years. It is not affirmed that they should, all that time, be in bondage and affliction. Isaac, the father of that seed, could not be a stranger, in a land not his own, before his birth, in the 25th year from the entrance of Abraham into Canaan. Hence to the egress the interval is 405. In the prophecy the round number is expressed, and the odd years omitted. It was not necessary that the sum should have been defined with more precision. This solution by St. Austin the Primate mentions without approbation. But it is much less exceptionable than the hypothesis, that Sarah, from the age of ninety, suckled Isaac five years.

4. *Genealogies from Jacob.*

IN this, as in the subsequent ages, the Annals exemplify many instances of their author's negligence, want of skill, and fallacious conclusions, in the article of genealogy. Those beyond the limits of this period are reserved for their proper dates.

FROM the birth of Jacob, progressively, the order of succession is not specified by the years of the fathers at the birth of their sons; and henceforth the greatest perplexities, in adjusting history to the course of nature,

* Gen. xv. 13.

occur. The Archbishop rightly computes this patriarch's marriage with Laban's two daughters from his 77th year; and, from the same term, his 14 years of stipulated service. The pedigree is continued in the line of Judah, his fourth son by Leah, who could not be born before the 81st year of his father. The father's age, when he stood before Pharaoh, was 130; and $130 - 81 = 49$. This remainder is the age of Judah in the second year of the famine. The time of his marriage with Shuah of Canaan, though involved in artful uncertainty by the subtilty of chronologers, is determined by infallible notations in the sacred history, without the aid of imaginary transpositions. *Judah in a 2 days of Shuah Gen. 38:2*

THE 130th year of Jacob was the 39th of Joseph. Joseph's age, when sold into Egypt, was 17, and Judah's 27. "At that time Judah went down from his brethren, and turned in to a certain Adullamite." There and then he took Shuah to be his wife, by whom, at distinct births, he had two sons. Both in succession, and each, at the age of puberty, married the same woman; but both being suddenly cut off by the hand of heaven, died childless. Suppose the elder brother to have married at the age of 16, and to have died before the expiration of one year, the computation is brought down to the 43d of Judah's life. After the decease of the younger, the widow must have tarried a competent time, before she could reasonably suspect Judah's intention to retract his promise of his only remaining son for her third husband. Suspicion, at last, growing up into despair, she tried the arts of guile, and fatally succeeded.

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succeeded. "Judah begat Pharez and Zarah of Thamar." Incongruous it is to imagine, that these twins were born before the 48th year of Judah. Yet, in the next year after, Pharez, with his two sons Hezron and Hamul, accompanied Jacob into Egypt. Here is a physical impossibility! Easy it is to establish the veracity of the sacred historian. But it is first requisite to exhibit the feeble, elusive, and contradictory, arguments urged by the Metropolitan, for adjusting this section of the history to the course of nature.

IN his Treatise of Sacred Chronology *, he assumes the postulate, that Judah at the age of 16, in the year of Jacob's return from Syria, married Shuah. This fundamental position, as repugnant to the testimony of scripture, which connects the time of this marriage with the year when Joseph was sold into Egypt, is inadmissible. He proceeds, "In the three successive years, Judah became the father of as many sons, at the age of 19," (as by him computed). "Er, the first born, having entered his 15th year, married Thamar; and Onan, the second, at the same age, espoused his brother's widow the year after. At the expiration of two years more, and 15 before the descent into Egypt, were born the twin brothers, Pharez and Zarah. Thus about the beginning of that year which brought Jacob with his family into Egypt, might Hezron be born, and before its termination, Hamul; or, if they likewise were twins, the nativity of both may be referred to the end of that year." The Most Reverend Primate expresses his

* Part I. c. 10.

persuasion,

persuasion, that no one Article of this Arrangement, will be found at variance with reason and nature. On the contrary, the writer of these sheets declares, with great deference, his firm belief that Pharez, the father of Hezron and Hamul, was himself an infant, at the time of the migration from Canaan into Egypt.

How then is the veracity of Moses to be vindicated? It is replied, that the register in the xlvith of Genesis has not, in its genuine purity, been transmitted. In a very remote age, but long after the days of Moses, and still more recent than the date of the Greek Pentateuch, in the Time of Pt. Philadelphus, certain critics, with more good meaning than skill, incapable of accounting for the original form of that register, but finding the recorded names unequal to the whole sum, had recourse to the rash expedient of supplying the deficiency from the later Hebrew pedigrees in the Books of The Numbers and Chronicles: Nay, even from the interpolated names in the Greek version.

THE unavoidable brevity of this Analysis forbids a minute enquiry into this subject. Three very probable considerations are obvious and indubitable. 1. Moses excluded from his Autograph the names of all the females, except, for distinction, those of a few mothers. 2. He inserted only the names of such males as were born, and living at the time of this migration. 3. He divided the register into three classes, and defined the number in each, that the deficiency of the males might be filled up with an adequate number of females.

By

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By the first rule, Dinah and Serah were omitted, because females, except mothers occasionally, had no place or rank in the sacred genealogies.

By the second, males not then born were excluded. Of this denomination were two of Reuben's four sons; for he had but two in the year of the descent, and these he offered to his father, as hostages for Benjamin *. Nor were the sons of Levi then born; for Gershom, the eldest of three, signifies, *a stranger there*, which name, if he were born in Canaan, had no significance; but if soon after the arrival in Egypt, its special emphasis needs no commentary. Er and Onan were omitted, for they died in Canaan, before the removal thence.

THESE are but a specimen of the many names, transferred from registers of a subsequent date.

As the birth of the patriarchs after Jacob is not characterized by the current years of their fathers lives, the interval from the death of Joseph to Moses, who was 80 years old at the Exodus, cannot, by the usual method, be ascertained. An expedient, however, occurs. The whole period of sojourning is 430. Joseph, at the age of 110, died in the 285th from the arrival of Abraham in Canaan. Add the age of Moses at the egress $285 + 80 = 365$ and $430 - 365 = 65$, the interval required. Such is the use of fixed periods in chronology.

* Gen. xlii. 37.

Corrected Dates, with the Chronological Numbers from the 70th of Abraham.

ANNALS.	W.	J. P.	Ref. A. D.	ARRANGEMENTS.	W.	J. P.	Ref. A. D.
Abram, &c. leave Ur	2083	2793	1921	-	2079	2784	1929
Depart from Haran, and settle in Canaan	2084	2794	1920	Remove from Haran - First year of sojourning -	2084	2789	1924
Ishmael born	2094	2804	1910	-	2095	2800	1913
Isaac born	2108	2818	1896	-	2109	2814	1899
Returns from the altar	2133	2843	1871	-	2146	2851	1862
Marries Rebecca	2148	2858	1856	-	2149	2854	1859
Jacob born	2168	2878	1836	-	2169	2874	1839
Marries Leah and Rachel	2245	2955	1759	-	2246	2951	1762
Judah born	2249	2959	1755	-	2250	2955	1758
Joseph born	2259	2969	1745	-	2260	2965	1748
Judah marries	2265	2275	1739	-	-	-	-
Joseph sold	2276	2986	1728	Judah marries	2277	2982	1731
Jacob in Egypt	2298	3008	1706	Pharez born	2299	3004	1709
Jacob dies	2315	3025	1689	-	2316	3021	1692
Joseph dies	2369	3079	1635	-	2370	3075	1630
Moses born	2433	3140	1571	-	2435	3140	1573
The Exodus	2513	3223	1491	-	2515	3220	1493

THIS scheme exhibits but a few of the mistakes in the Annals for this period; some are the result of the author's assumed term for the source of computation; others of deviation from historical order; and all the dates of events from the creation to the release out of Egypt, characterised by fallacious numbers. Bedford retains the Primate's computation for the year of the Exodus, with respect to the then age of the world. Kennedy, still more at variance with precision, connects it with A. M. 2512. All the three computations abridge the interval from the flood to the end of the sojourning.

WITH

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WITH this latter term began a new reckoning by weeks, months, and years; the seventh day of the week, and the seventh month of the year, as counted from the creation, (that is, from the last day of the primeval week), having become respectively the first of the new series.

FROM Sunday the 28th October, when the Almighty rested from all his works, to Saturday the 27th April, when the first passover was solemnized in Egypt, the intermediate space, as defined by the sacred historian, is precisely 2514 solar tropical years, and 26 weeks, wanting one day; for the week of the Exodus consisted of but six natural days. On the morning of the seventh day, after midnight, all the hosts of the Lord went out from Egypt. That day, the weekly Sabbath from the creation, being signalized by the departure of the twelve tribes, was thenceforth, on all its subsequent returns, accounted the first of the Mosaical week; and Saturday, the sixth by the patriarchal computation, observed as the Sabbath of the Israelites.

IN the year of the Exodus Abib, or Nisan, began on Sunday, coincident with the 14th April, whence all the sacred years of the Hebrews were computed, according to the course of the moon. From the first paschal new moon to Pentecost, the historical transactions, with their dates in the Hebrew and Roman calendar, for N. S., are thus exhibited, in correspondent lines and columns.

A. M.

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[illegible]

OBVIOUS is the construction and the uses of this table. It is to be noted, that the paschal full moon was signalized by an eclipse, when the angel of death slept forth to smite the first born of man and beast.

THAT Saturday was first appointed to be kept holy, as the national sabbath, by the Israelites, in all their generations, and in all their dwellings, at the time of their first passover, is certain, from the regulations concerning the number and division of the weeks from the

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returns

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returns of that festival to Pentecost yearly. "Ye shall count from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete; even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days *." The passover was invariably to be solemnized on the 14th day from the visibility of the paschal moon, without regard to the day of the week on which that full moon should fall, by whatever name, or ordinal number, it might be distinguished. For instance, if the moon should be full before Monday evening, the passover was to be kept that day at the prescribed hour, (between the two evenings). The 50 days were to be counted from Saturday in that week, being the national sabbath. The morrow after that sabbath was Sunday, the first of the 50 days. During the continuance of that solemnity that day was to be signalized by a special service,—the oblation of the first fruits;—and by an appropriate number;—the first day of unleavened bread, of which the use was strictly prescribed to the end of that week, SEVEN DAYS. The morrow, therefore, after the national sabbath, immediately subsequent to the passover, is virtually, if not in direct terms, characterized, as the first day of the Mosaical week. It was likewise the first of every week to Pentecost, the last of the 50 days, and the first of the eighth week from the offering of the first fruits. This order and service were observed to the day when our Lord rose from the dead, as the first fruits of them that slept, and so, in

* Levit. xxiii. 15, 16.

the

the very circumstance of the time, he realized that typical service. At the Exodus the primitive sabbath was not desecrated, but changed; and, at last, resumed its primeval use, with accumulated honours, being a memorial of the CREATION, and of a still greater work, REDEMPTION.

IN the preceding table, the change of the sabbath on the day of the paschal full moon is exemplified in rotation through seven of its returns, and the reality of that change established on the firm basis of historical truth, and astronomical calculation. The first national sabbath was sanctified, as a season both of rest and devotion. Then it was that the whole assembly proclaimed the praises of their Almighty Deliverer in the triumphant hymn, Exod. xv. Its 5th repetition was signalized by a supply of quails, for provision, and the next two by the periodical cessation of manna. That particular day was in like manner distinguished during the space of 40 years; for manna was not totally withheld till the Sunday after the first passover in Canaan; the very day on which it was first vouchsafed.

CHAP. V.

Fourth Age of the World.

DURING the 40 years, from the Exodus to the passage over Jordan, the Arrangements in the ANNALS are generally correct, such as result from the erroneous combination of the original numbers being excepted.

Natural Term of Life after the Exodus.

THE Author sets out with this position, that from the second year of this period, the natural term of human life was reduced to its present usual standard, 70 or 80 years.

THIS postulate merits a strict scrutiny, and, as it perplexes the sacred genealogies, down to the time of David, seems to require correction. From the Exodus to the birth of this prince is an interval of 406 years, for five generations, of which the mean quantity is 81.

It must be admitted that the common interval of descents, as defined in the times subsequent to the deluge, was not uniform. From Arphaxad to Terah, exclusively, the mean age of procreation was 31 years eight

eight months nearly. In the generation before the extraction of the Messiah from Abraham was made known, propagation had a slower progress; for from Terah to Judah the mean standard was 93; and thence to David 65½.

PROVIDENCE, it may reasonably be presumed, had important ends for appointing, comparatively, few human progenitors to the promised seed, in whom blessings, for all nations, were reserved. One natural reason is obvious. In the line of Terah by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Judah, the pedigree is counted from the younger sons, in numerous instances. Nor is it improbable that the fathers of the particular tribe, whence the Messiah was intended to spring, should have their faith and patience long tried, by waiting for the accomplishment of the promise, as far as they, in particular, were concerned. Isaac was born of a superannuated mother. Several examples nearly similar, repeated in the series of generations, might, when the mystery was fully to be revealed, produce a more easy and cordial belief of immense blessings from the son of a virgin. It need not be supposed, that the mean age of procreation, exemplified in the seven descents from Arphaxad to Terah, was, in the subsequent ages, considerably enlarged or anticipated. Had it been enlarged, the case of Abraham's family would not have been singular. The subject now under consideration is the common term of natural life; and it is to be noted, that,

1. THE sentence of being cut off in the wilderness, at the end of 40 years, was limited to the generation

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brought

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Brought out of Egypt, and of them, to such alone as were 20 years old, or upward, at the time of that release, and had likewise murmured at the report of the cowardly and lying spies. To the generation which should be born in the wilderness, or in later times, the threatening did not extend.

2. MANY instances of great longevity occur, in the interval from the egress to David. Aaron, Moses, Eleazar, Caleb, Joshua, belong to the former period. Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, was certainly born in the wilderness. The year before the passage over Jordan he signalized his zeal and heroism in the plains of Moab *. He was then 20 years old at least. From the chronology and history of the times, it is probable, that 50 years after the entrance into Canaan, he succeeded his father in the pontificate, which function he discharged 45 years. He therefore lived 116 years, if not more.

OTHNIEL, the son of Caleb's brother, was a military general in the sixth year of Joshua's government, and acquired renown in the reduction of Debir †. After 60 years he undertook the conduct of the war against Cushan, which lasted eight years. The land had rest 40 years, and Othniel died. His age must therefore have exceeded 128.

GIDEON, that mighty man of valour, maintained a war of seven years against Midian, and after a glorious victory, which restored quietness to the country 40

* Num. xxv. 7.

† Josh. xv. 17.

years, died in a good old age. The phraseology of that time justifies the conclusion, that he lived one full century.

IN the continually decreasing period of longevity, Eli, about 66 years after, died by accident, at the age of 98, an old man; yet nothing is said of his having exceeded the ordinary term of life. Samuel succeeded him in the pontificate. Thirty years was the age of consecration, and he had ministered in the vocation of a subordinate priest, before he rose to the primacy, when his age was probably 36. His administration, at the inauguration of Saul, was a period of 36 years more. Josephus reports that Saul survived him only two years*. Every circumstance in the history confirms this notation; and more particularly Saul's consultation with the woman at Endor. If Samuel's death had not been a recent occurrence, it is not supposable, that the king would have desired an interview with that prophet. All these characters of time evince that Samuel lived 110 years.

UNCERTAIN is the date of Jesse's birth. He went for an old man in the days of Saul, when his son, David, was but a stripling. In the 36th of that reign, David committed his father and mother to the protection of the king of Moab; and they most probably were living at the death of Saul. Hence it may be presumed, that Jesse's age filled up one complete century; and that human life was first reduced to the term of 70

* Ant. VI. 14. 8.

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or 80 years in the time of David. In the 33d of this reign, and at the age of 80, Barzillai pronounced himself a very old man.

3. RELYING on the certain truth of his postulate, Usher deducts 31 years from the government of Joshua, which, with other mis-arrangements, to be specified in their proper places, abbreviates the chronology from Moses to Othniel.

4. In the *Treatise on the Sacred Chronology**, the age of procreation assigned to the three ancestors of David, after Salmon, contradicts the term of natural life, said, in the *ANNALS*, to have been fixed in the year after the Exodus, to 70, or 80. There it is assumed, that Boaz lived 102, Obed and Jesse each 111, before the birth of their respective sons. The interval from the birth of Boaz to that of David is 324. This sum divided by 3, quotes 108, for the common measure. But is it credible, in a period of the world when very few mortals lived more than 80 years, that the space between three descents, in immediate succession, did exceed a century? To no purpose is it alleged, that a great many examples of persons, who lived from 130 to 150 years, from the days of Vespasian to Thomas Parr, are recorded in history. These examples the Primate has been at great pains to collect. His conclusion is a paralogism. The point to be proved was, that three fathers, in lineal and continuous order, in any period since the time of David, begat sons at

* Part I. c. 12.

the

the age of 102, or 111; that is 20 or 30 years after the usual and ultimate term of life. Serious reasoning in support of a paradox is ridiculous.

MUCH easier it is to demolish a tottering, than erect a firm and well proportioned fabric. The scheme of scripture chronology will derive both firmness and proportion from genealogy. In this directory, for computation, two rules are carefully to be observed. The age of procreation must neither anticipate the course of nature, nor be extended to the utmost term of life. The birth of a son prior to the 14th of a father's life may, as not vouched by experience or history, be considered as a physical improbability; and in the sacred genealogies no example of procreation before 16 occurs, and none ought to be admitted.

FROM Abraham to David the generations are 14, counting Solomon the first of a new series.

WHEN the long lives of the first three patriarchs are considered, (175, 180, and 147), the birth of Isaac in the 100th of Abraham, of Jacob in the 60th of Isaac, and of Judah in the 81st of Jacob, are events in perfect agreement with the course of nature. From the descent into Egypt, with which the birth of Pharez has been connected, to the egress, the years are 215, and the generations four, excluding Nahshon, whose age at the egress is supposed to have been 19. This number taken from 215 leaves 196 for the four intermediate generations, of which the mean quantity for each is precisely 49. The ages of Levi, Joseph, Kohath, and Amram, were severally 137, 110, 133, and 137, and the

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the common measure 129. These four were contemporary with Pharez, Hezron, Aram, and Amminadab. It involves no absurdity to affirm, that 49 was the mean interval of descents, at a time, when the mean term of life was 129.

FROM the birth of Nahshon, as above stated, to that of Solomon, are 475 years, and six generations, the common measure being 79. It has been shewn, that the mean term of life in this interval was 108, which exceeds the mean age of procreation by 29. In none of these computations is any thing affirmed, at variance with the course of nature.

THE foregoing arrangements proceed on the supposition, that David was the last in the first series of 14 generations. But the Evangelists words may be considered as placing David at the top of the second series, without enlarging the number of generations in that, or the subsequent division.

THIS conjecture rests on the authority of an inspired writer: "Pharez begat Hezron, Hezron begat Ram*, Ram begat Amminadab, Amminadab begat Nahshon, Nahshon begat *Salmah*, and Salmon begat Boaz; Boaz begat Obed, Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David†. Salmon is here characterised as the son of *Salmah*, and grandson of Nahshon. This addition makes Jesse the 14th from Abraham, and the 10th from Pharez. Jackson, in his Chronological Antiquities, first suggested that this variation of two similar

* Aram, Mat. i. 3.

† Ruth iv. 18—22.

names denotes two different persons. In his second dissertation *On the State of the Printed Hebrew Text* *, Kennicott approves the conjecture, as ingenious, probable, and satisfactory. This emendation, if it be one, is mentioned not as absolutely necessary to ascertain the genuine chronology of the Bible, and its conformity with the course of nature; but merely as an expedient for weakening an objection, otherwise not forcible †.

* P. 184. and 543.

† The reasons which justify the fixing of Nahshon's birth to the 19th year before the Exodus, evince that he died after Joshua. Certain it is, that some elders, at least, who had seen all the great works of the Lord, (both in Egypt and at the Jordan), did actually survive Joshua; Eleazar, for instance; and if Nahshon did not, it will be impossible to find the plurality implied in ALL. The same reasons which demonstrate the improbability, that the Rachab, Mat. i. 5. was the same Rahab who entertained the spies, Josh. ii. are set forth at large in the *Dissertation on the Hebrew Genealogies*. If the name in both passages describe the same person, she must have been 180 years old at the birth of Boaz.

Sir Isaac Newton, finding a Jeshua who had sons in the retinue of Zorobabel from Chaldea, confounds that Levite with the high priest of that name. In the same register he finds an Ezra, and a Nehemiah, whom he affirms to have been living 200 years after.

Chronology from the Death of Moses to Saul.

CHAP. I. JOSHUA.

Septenary Years of Rest.

THE unsuccessful attempts of Usher, Bedford, Whiston, &c. to fix the true era of sabbatical years and jubiles, induced Prideaux to pronounce those circulating periods both uncertain and useless. Their use in computation is obvious, and the term of computation defined, in the original institution, "When ye come into the land, &c. then shall the land keep a sabbath. Six years shalt thou sow thy seed; and six years shalt thou prune thy vineyard, and gather in thy fruit; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land; a sabbath for the Lord: Thou shalt neither sow thy field; nor prune thy vineyard *." Before the inhabitants were subdued and the land divided, Israel could neither sow nor reap. Usher allows six years for the conquest of the country, and appropriates the seventh for its partition. But a sabbatical year could not be observed before six had been employed in sowing and reaping.

* Lev. xxv. 2—5.

The subjugation of the natives was the work of five years. In the beginning of the sixth, Joshua and Eleazar, with the fathers of the tribes, proceeded to divide the lands by line and lot. Caleb, prior to that distribution, claimed, in virtue of a grant from Moses, Hebron for his inheritance. In the second year from the Exodus Caleb's age was 40; and 85 in the 46th*. Thus is the date of the partition ascertained. At the time of the autumnal equinox in that year the tribes, having acquired their several possessions, began to plow, plant, and sow. The first possible year of rest began at the same cardinal point in the 53d from the egress, and the 13th from the passage over Jordan, A. M. 2568.

“THOU shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be forty-nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of jubile to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month†.” Here is the quantity of a jubile defined; the 50th year from the foregoing jubile inclusively; or in a continual series from the primary rest for the land. Thus is the term of computation certain. These circulating periods serve as a regulating measure in the progress of computation indefinitely; and with respect to the sacred chronology, answer the same end with the Julian period, applied to the chronology of the world. For example,

THE sacred critics and expositors agree that a jubile characterised some one year of our Lord's natural Life;

* Josh. xiv. 7—11.

† Lev. xxv. 8, 9.

that

that of his nativity, baptism, or crucifixion. Discordant, however, are their opinions. But this test is decisive.

FROM A. M. 2568, on the tenth day of the seventh Hebrew month, according to the patriarchal calendar, continue the reckoning down 1470 years, equal to 210 septenary combinations of years, or 30 jubiles; the operation terminates with the ninth of the seventh Hebrew month, A. M. 4038. That was the fourth of John's ministry, the 34th of our Lord's age, and the very date of his baptism. From Jordan he went straightway into the wilderness, at the end of 40 days returned into Galilee, entered the synagogue at Nazareth; on the sabbath day, and read from the book of Isaiah, "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." Thus calculation agrees with the infallible testimony, both of prophecy and history, in the conclusion, that our Lord began his ministry on the 30th jubile from the first sabbatical year in Canaan.

HENCE it is evident, that the Primate's arrangement misplaces the root of computation by jubiles, confounds the first year of John's ministry with that of Christ's baptism, and contrary to every notation in the gospel history, defers his entrance on the prophetic function, three years beyond its true date.

Length of Joshua's Government.

BY the computation of Josephus the administration of Joshua is compressed within the narrow limits of 25
7 years;

years; Lightfoot admits but 17; Usher no more than nine. He died at the age of 110. If the ANNALS give the proper notation, he was 61 years old in the year of the egress. In that year he is denominated a young man*.

AT the age of 30 the expression *young* is usual; but *youth* is at variance with threescore. Suppose Joshua in his 30th year discomfited Amalek. Add 80, the sum is 110. By this reckoning he judged Israel 40 years. In the year of the partition he was old and stricken in years, his age being 76. "Very much land then remained to be possessed"†. The truth is, that no part of it had been divided by lot. To Caleb, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, their possessions, had been assigned by Moses. "It came to pass a long time after the Lord had given rest unto Israel from all his enemies round about, that Joshua waxed old," &c.‡. If Joshua died three years after the partition, the phrase, *a long time after*, is egregiously misapplied, but extremely proper, if he died after the lapse of 34 years. With these characters of time every circumstance in the history accords. But the Primæ, finding it impracticable to comprise the years of oppression and rest, within a reasonable compass, so as not to exceed the period of 480 years, found it necessary to abbreviate the duration both of Joshua's and Samuel's government.

* Exod. xxxiii. 11. † Josh. xiii. 1. ‡ Ch. xxiii. 1.

C H A P. II.

The Book of the Judges.

THIS history opens with a recapitulation of certain incidents more fully recorded in the Book of Joshua, and fills up the interval from his death to the commencement of Othniel's administration, where the proper subject of this history begins. This interval includes 20 years; for the oppression under Cushan began in the last year of the first century from the Exodus; and these 20 years are divided into two equal portions. "During all the days of the elders who survived Joshua, Israel served the Lord. But after them arose another generation, who knew not the Lord," &c. The enormities practised during these ten years are concisely related from the 17th chapter to the end of the Book. The time is intimated by two chronological marks, the pontificate of Phinehas the son of Eleazar, and by the want of a king, or supreme civil magistrate in Israel. The period thus characterised could be no other than the intermediate space of 20 years from the death of Joshua to Othniel *.

* The particular enormities which prevailed during the latter interval of 10 years were the introduction of idolatry by Micah, the tragical incident of the Levite and his concubine, the defection of the Danites, the massacre of the Benjamites, and of the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, &c.

FROM

CHRONOLOGY of the JUDGES.

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FROM the date of the war with Cushman, to the inauguration of Saul, are 296 years ; and the chronology of the Annals extremely intricate. The arrangements of Marsham, and Bedford, come nearest to the truth of history ; but the result is approximation only, which always implies imperfection.

Is it practicable, by the aid of internal characters of time, to educe historical order out of apparent confusion ; and to elucidate what is dark in the chronology ?

FROM Othniel to the death of Gideon the years of war are 53 ; and the wars are described as in succession. The years of rest are 200. But it is presumed, that some parts of the country were involved in the calamities of war, while others enjoyed tranquillity.

To Gideon succeeded Abimelech, and after him Tolah. They judged Israel 26 years. Under the government of Jair, the successor of Tolah, broke out the war with Ammon, which lasted 18 years, and was terminated by the valour of Jephtha, who succeeded Jair. To Jephtha the king of the children of Ammon sent messengers, demanding the restoration of certain lands, once belonging to the kingdom of the Amorites. Jephtha remonstrated, that Israel had been in the possession of those lands 300 years ; that the right, established by prescription, was then unalterable, and the claim for recovery too late. Confiding, that the sword might enforce what negotiation could not obtain, the Ammonites hazarded a battle, and incurred a total defeat.

E

To

TO the year of the entrance into Canaan, or the 41st from the Exodus, add 300: The computation thence exclusively, is continued to 342, which seems to have been the first of Jephtha's administration. To this date an objection occurs. The second year from the passage over Jordan was prior to the division of the country, and consequently to the possession of those lands by the Israelites. It is replied, that Moses, on certain conditions, had granted to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, all the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, with all the cities of Og, king of Bashan*; and that they had received their inheritance before the general partition†. The possession of 300 years is thus evinced.

BUT farther; the war of 18 years with Ammon, is by Jud. x. 7. comprehended in the 40 years war with the Philistines, under the joint administration of Eli and Samson, while Jair and Jephtha conducted the war with Ammon. Thus is established a decisive evidence of co-existent wars, and contemporary rulers, with local jurisdiction: and this discovery points out a justifiable and necessary expedient for reducing the amplified accounts of chronologers to the authentic notations of the sacred writers‡.

JEPHTHA subdued the Ammonites, in the year from the Exodus 342. This sum deduct from the date of

* Num. xxxii. 32, 33. † Josh. xiii. 8.

‡ Long before Marshall, Petavius suggested the scheme of coincident wars, and contemporary magistrates, between the times of Abimeleck and Saul, but the hypothesis of neither is framed with chronological precision.

Saul's inauguration 396, the difference is 54, including 18 years of Eli's government, and 36 of Samuel's : $18 + 36 = 54$.

1. IN the Annals, the Philistine war of 40 years terminates 20 years after the death of Eli, with the second battle at Ebenezer. It certainly ended with the first battle there fought, for, prior to the second, Samuel had officiated as supreme magistrate and high priest 20 years. But the Primate, by connecting the year subsequent to this battle with the consecration of Saul, entirely excludes Samuel from the register of the priests and judges. The sources of this mistake are obvious from the surface of the history. A minute refutation would here require a superfluous expence of arguments.

It is not however, inapposite to rectify an erroneous number in the Greek Testament, relative to this subject. "When he had destroyed the seven nations, he divided their land unto them by lot. And after that he gave unto them judges by the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet*." The land was divided in the 46th year after the Exodus: And $396 - 46 = 350$, which difference is the true interval from the partition to the end of Samuel's ministry. Τετρακοσιοι, 400, had inadvertently been substituted for, τριακοσιοι, 300, in one copy, and at last pervaded all.

UNTEXTUAL and violent is the Primate's gloss in support of this erroneous notation: "Much about 450 years after the election of the fathers, and the time of

* Acts, xiii. 19.

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Isaac's birth, was the land divided." The election of the fathers, rightly dated from the call of Abraham, was about 520 years before this division; and of Isaac's birth no mention occurs in the context. The order of the apostle's words, and the strain of his argument, require the computation to proceed in the descending series from the partition, and by no means admit the retrograde order thence to the birth of Isaac.

THE history of Ruth is entirely omitted in the course of the Annals; but in the tract on Sacred Chronology*, is referred to the days of Ehud or Shamgar. Its true date is necessary to determine the time of Obed's birth: And every circumstance favours the supposition, that Elimelech retired into the land of Moab, in the time of the famine, during the seven years war with Midian†. After ten years, Naomi, having heard that the Lord had visited his people, in giving them bread, returned, with Ruth, to Bethlehem.

Arrangement of the Chronology from the Exodus to Saul.

Years after the Exodus		A. M. 2515.
Moses dies	Joshua succeeds	40
Joshua dies - -		80
No supreme magistrate	20	100
War with Cushan -	8	108
After Othniel's victory	40 rest over all Canaan	148
War with Eglon -	18	166
After Ehud's victory, rest	60 over all Canaan -	226
Rest continues, south	20 War with Jabin, north	246
War with Midian, south	7 Rest after Barak's victory	253

* P. i. c. 12.

† Jud. vi. 3—11.

After

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After Gideon's victory	40	rest over all Canaan	293
	3	Abimelech dies -	296
Eli judges in S. and W.	23	Tolah dies *	319
The Philistine war begins	1	Jair judges in N. and E.	320
	4	War with Ammon begins	324
	17	Jair dies - -	341
	1	Jephtha subdues Ammon	342
	5	----- dies -	347
	7	Ibzan dies -	354
	1	Elon succeeds -	355
Eli dies. The ark taken	4		359
Samuel succeeds -	1	End of the Philistine war	360
	4	Elon dies - -	364
	8	Abdon dies -	372
Samuel judges all Israel	1		373
— defeats the Philistines	7		380
— anoints Saul, and abdicates the govern- ment	16		396
			<hr/>
			A. M. 2911.

* From the first year of Eli's government, coincident with the last of Tolah, both excluded, to the death of Abdon, the intermediate years, common to contemporary judges, are 54, equivalent to the sum retrenched in the Annals, from Joshua's ministry, and to the abridged space between the death of Samson and the accession of Saul.

Chronology of the Kings.

C H A P. I.

Rules of Computation.

HERE begins a new era, not measured by generations, as in the patriarchal ages; neither by alternate periods of war and rest; but by the reigns of kings, in a regular series. Few and obvious are the rules of computation.

I. MOSES ordained, that the years, from the Exodus progressively, should begin, about the time of the vernal equinox, with the month Abib or Nisan, the term whence the Hebrew festivals were to be regulated; though he retained the primitive order of the months, in buying, selling, and the other transactions of civil life*. From this month also were the reigns computed. For if any king ascended the throne a few days before the same month, it was reckoned to him for a whole year; and with the return of the same month began his second of the new reign†.

* Josephus, Ant. I. 3. 3.

† D. Levi's Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews, p. 22; and Sir I. Newton's Chronol. ch. iv. p. 296.

THE reigns in Judah were computed from this source; though with respect to Hezekiah, Josiah, and their successors, the Metropolitan contends, that their years were computed from the vacancy of the throne. His arguments are fallacious.

2. REIGNS of a few days, or months, are included in those before or after, agreeably to the expressed notations of time.

3. PARTNERSHIP in royalty is never to be admitted, except on the authority of the sacred writers, for one or more years. The last year of David was not comprehended in the first of Solomon; for though the latter was anointed in the currency of that year, yet was his accession not reckoned from the date of his consecration, much less from the foregoing Nisan, as in the Annals; but from the first month of the subsequent, the 81st from the inauguration of Saul*.

ASA reigned 41 years†. But he died in the 41st‡, and the last, as incomplete, was the first of Jehoshaphat, though not so marked in the Annals. Neither was the 40th of Jehoash the first of Amaziah, though the Primate, without the least colour of historical evidence, puts them in coincidence. In the like arbitrary manner, is the first of Hezekiah lost in the 16th of Ahaz. With respect to joint reigns of more than one year, the rule is determinate.

4. IF the years common to two sovereigns were full, all belong to the senior. If he died during the currency of

* 1 K. vi. 1. and 2 Chron. iii. 2.

† 1 K. xv. 10.

‡ 2 Chron. xvi. 13.

the last, that was accounted the first of the successor. From notations abundantly decisive, certain it is, that Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat began to reign while his father was king of Judah. The reign of the son had a two-fold commencement:—One, two years before the other Jehoram ascended the throne of Samaria, while Jehoshaphat was living;—another, after his decease, in the fifth of that other Jehoram. These characters of time are infallible; though it is difficult to reconcile all the terms of coincidence. Whatever was the duration of the joint reign *, the 25th and last of the father, as incomplete, and that only, is reckoned to the son, by the first rule.

“ UZZIAH was a leper unto the day of his death, and he dwelt in a several house; and Jotham the king's son was over the house, judging the people of the land †.” In what year of his reign this malady was inflicted, is uncertain. The text denotes continuance of time. An interval of six years may, though with less certainty, be supposed. But the notations of time, in the context, evince that the 52 years, ascribed to the father, were full, prior to the sole reign of the son.

5. IN these two reigns (for none other is to be admitted as common to two sovereigns), the genealogies require, that the specified ages of Jehoram and Jotham be computed from the first commencement of their respective reigns; and as the precise date of the conjunct sovereignty is, in neither case, defined, a sufficient

* Four years seem to be the most probable quantity.

† 2 K. xv, 5.

number of intermediate years may be assumed, for adjusting chronology to the course of nature.

6. IN some cases the reign of a minor is dated from the vacancy of the throne, as in the instance of Jehoash, the son of Ahaziah, king of Judah *;—in others, and particularly in that of Uzziah, from the legal age of 16. But in both cases a regency must be supposed. Josiah's age at his accession was 18 (not 8, as in all the copies). For this reason a regency is excluded.

* Concerning the father of Jehoash, the successor of Athalia, various are the sentiments of critics and expositors. He is said to have been the king's son (2 Chron. xxiii. 11.), which designation can belong to no other than Ahaziah, the predecessor of Athalia, on the throne of Judah. Jehoshеба, who concealed him in the temple, when the rest of the seed royal were cruelly put to death, was the sister of the same Ahaziah (2 Chron. xxii. 11.); and her humane care of that helpless infant seems to ascertain propinquity of relation. That he was a minor of seven years old at his accession, is expressly affirmed in parallel texts. Jehoiadah, the high priest, was his pious guardian, and regent of the kingdom, till the young prince attained the legal age: By his counsel, example, and influence, was the royal pupil instructed in religious discipline, and in the arts of government. At the protracted age of 130, died that venerable man, as is supposed, in the 27th year of this reign. Jehoash soon after degenerated into a tyrant and idolater (2 Chron. xxiv. 15—20.). Here Jehoash is characterised as the son of Ahaziah; and, in 2 Kings, xii. 18, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, kings of Judah, are his lineal ancestors.

C H A P. II.

Chronology of Saul's Reign.

SAUL, when set apart for the sovereignty, was a choice young man, and a goodly *. “ When he had reigned two years over Israel, he chose him 3,000 men, whereof 2,000 were with Saul, in Michmash, &c. and 1,000 with Jonathan, in Gibeah †.” These notations are at variance with the course of nature. The son of a choice young man, and a goodly, cannot be supposed capable of conducting the military operations, ascribed in the context, to Jonathan. The Primate is not censured for overlooking a difficulty which had escaped the penetration of all the critics and expositors. Neither the age of Saul at his accession, nor the length of his reign, is mentioned in his history. In the text (1 Sam. xiii. 1.) both these notations were probably inserted. But the original numbers seem now to be partly lost and partly mutilated. Dr. Wall, in his note on the place, suggests, that an old scholiast, cited by Bosc, filled up the blank in the first clause by the number 30. His reign was 40 years ‡. The ancient Hebrews expressed numbers, not by words at length, but by alpha-

* 1 Sam. ix. 2. † Ch. xiii. 2. ‡ Acts, xiii. 20.

betical characters. In the first clause the numerical signatures were probably (N 31.) and these being accidentally omitted; YEAR in the singular number only remained: In the second clause may have stood 40, which in transcribing was mistaken for 20*. The whole verse thus completed is, "Saul was 31 years old when he began to reign, and he reigned 40 years over Israel." Wall adds, "Abp. Usher, adhering stiffly to the words, mangled as they are, has very much disturbed his own chronology."

OF the text, as rendered in our public version, he (the Primate) says, "It can have no fitter sense than this; that after the Philistines were subdued by Samuel, one year had passed when Saul began to reign, and that then he reigned two years free from subjection to the Philistines †."

No sense can be less fit. "For after the Philistines were subdued, Samuel went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places ‡." "When he grew old he made his sons judges over Israel, who turned aside after lucre, took bribes and perverted judgement §." They must have been some time in office, and given flagrant

* So the text 1 Sam. xiii. 1. was probably read in the days of Josephus, who circumscribes Saul's reign within the compass of 20 years, 18 during the life, and 2 after the death of Samuel. But the notation in Acts, xiii. 20. is exactly conformable with history; for David, born in the 10th of Saul's reign, succeeded him at the age of 30.

† Annals, A. M. 2909.

‡ 1 Sam. vii. 13—16.

§ Ch. viii. 1—3.

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proofs of maladministration, before the elders, despairing of their reformation, presented complaints to Samuel, and requested to have a king. On the whole, much more probable it is, that Samuel judged Israel 16 years, than one only, after the second battle at Ebenezer.

THE Metropolitan proceeds: "Shortly after Saul was put from the kingdom again by the Philistines, and the Israelites again very much enthralled; which yoke, being again shaken off, Saul is said to have gotten the kingdom; that is, to have recovered it out of the Philistines hands *. Now, that this thralldom continued many years, *appeareth* by this, that, whereas it began eight years before the birth of David, yet before it ended, Samuel prophesied of his succeeding Saul in the kingdom." This train of surmises merits serious consideration.

1. THAT Saul was, after a reign of two years, divested of the kingdom, is a postulate, which has every semblance of a fiction. He is no where characterised as a dethroned sovereign, as a tributary prince, or, as a prisoner taken in war. On the contrary, he is every where represented as an independent monarch, issuing proclamations, by his own authority, levying forces, in his own dominions; conducting them to the field of battle, and at last victorious, or defeated.

2. IT does not *appear*, that the war with the Philistines, described ch. xiii. and xiv. continued many years. The history has no notations of time, no account of

* 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

armies in stationary encampments, or continually shifting their situations; of frequent conflicts, productive of defeats and victories, on both sides. Every circumstance indicates the notion of one campaign.

3. THE text, ch. xiv. 47. does not necessarily imply that Saul *recovered* the kingdom. The phrase has a retrospect to the very commencement of his reign; which, for many years, was prosperous and brilliant. His victories are, in this text, recapitulated: "So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah*, the Philistines; and whithersoever he turned himself, he vexed them." These successful wars are most probably recorded nearly in the order of time, and that with the Philistines, marked as prior to the subsequent conflict with Amalek.

4. THE prediction, that the sceptre should be transferred from Saul to David, refers to an advanced period of Saul's reign, but does not confirm the Archbishop's position, that the Philistine war, in which Jonathan exhibited all the abilities of an accomplished general, began so early as the third year from his father's consecration.

THE fact seems to be, that the historian's intent was to transmit a very concise account of this reign, in its commencement and progress, while the monarch per-

* "In the days of Saul the Reubenites made war with the Hagarenes, who fell by their hand, and they dwelt in their tents." 1 Chr. v. 10. These conquests are omitted 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

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severed in his duty. It was his primary object to expiate on that period of his administration, which exemplified such instances of misconduct, as justify, to every succeeding age, the equity of Providence, in removing Saul's family from the throne.

THESE remarks suggest the expediency of having recourse to a transposition in the order of historical occurrences, that chronology may be brought into concord with the course of nature.

THE proposed connexion is: "Saul was 31 years old when he began to reign, and he reigned 40 years over Israel *."

"So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines; and whithersoever he turned himself, he vexed them †."

"SAUL chose him 3,000 men of Israel, whereof 2,000 were with Saul in Michmash, and in Mount Bethel; and 1,000 were with Jonathan, in Gibeah of Benjamin; and the rest of the people he sent every man to his tent ‡"

"And he gathered an host, and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them §."

"Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan and Ishui," &c. Of Saul's four sons Jonathan's name always

* 1 Sam. xiii. 1.

† Ch. xiv. 47.

‡ Ch. xiii. 2, read forward to ch. xiv. 46.

§ V. 47, 48.

occurs

CHRONOLOGY of SAUL'S REIGN. 63

occurs first in the register;—a probable criterion of primogeniture. Ishbosheth, or Eshbaal, was 40 years old at the time of the tragical overthrow on Gilboa. Admit that Jonathan was a few years older: Yet neither age nor experience qualified him for the military glory he is thought to have acquired in the third of his father's reign. But suppose the war, in which he gathered so many laurels, began and ended in the 28th of that reign, the whole history is consistent with itself, and chronology in exact unison with the course of nature. Thus is the perplexity, resulting from the incoherent computation in the Annals, untwisted.

Dates corrected, with the chronological characters.

Years after the Exodus	-	395	W. J. P. B. C.
Saul anointed	-	396	2911 3616 1097
Reigns prosperously 27 years	-	423	2938 3643 1070
Defeats the Philistines by the heroism of Jonathan	-	424	2939 3644 1069
Subdues Amalek	-	425	2940 3645 1068
David privately anointed	-	426	2941 3646 1067
Saul and his sons slain in battle		436	2951 3656 1057

This division of Saul's reign, into parts, on the authority of the sacred writers, sufficiently disproves the notation of Josephus, who diminishes its duration by one half. But it has already been suggested, that the original text had, before his time, been corrupted by an interchange of numerical signatures.

<i>Saul anointed</i>	<i>2911</i>	<i>3616</i>	<i>1097</i>
<i>Reign prosperously 27 years</i>	<i>2938</i>	<i>3643</i>	<i>1070</i>
<i>Defeats Philistines</i>	<i>2939</i>	<i>3644</i>	<i>1069</i>
<i>Subdues Amalek</i>	<i>2940</i>	<i>3645</i>	<i>1068</i>
<i>David anointed</i>	<i>2941</i>	<i>3646</i>	<i>1067</i>
<i>Saul to Saul</i>	<i>2951</i>	<i>3656</i>	<i>1057</i>
<i>Dismissed from Court</i>	<i>2941</i>		
<i>Engage Goliath</i>			

CHAP.

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C H A P. III.

Chronology from the Death of Saul to the Temple.

DAVID'S reign in Hebron, over Judah and Benjamin, commenced from the death of his predecessor. After seven years and six months, all the elders of Israel came and anointed him king over all Israel and Judah. His subsequent reign in Jerusalem was 33 years, including the odd six months; so that the interval from the death of Saul to that of David was precisely 40 years, computed from Abib.

Two instances of anachronism, during this reign, occur in the Annals.

1. "It came to pass after 40 years, that Absalom said unto the king, I pray thee, let me go and pay my vow in Hebron *." No term whence the computation begins, is expressed. The Primate reckons from the consecration of David in the 30th of Saul. But that, being a private deed, was not likely to be used as a common term in reckoning. From the context it is evident that the number 40 is by a mistake put for 4. Absalom, after the murder of his brother Amnon, fled to Gethur, and dwelt there three years †. By the

* 2 Sam. vii. 15.

† 2 Sam. xiii. 38.

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secret influence of Joab was he recalled and lived two full years in Jerusalem, but saw not the king's face *. Having obtained access into the royal presence, and a gracious reception, he, by the arts of popularity, strengthened his interest, prepared horses, chariots, and footmen ; and at the end of two years more requested permission to retire to Hebron, as above related. Josephus, conformably to the Sacred History, dates this request from Absalom's return out of Gethur to Jerusalem †. Grotius adopts the correction, and Kennicott confirms it by the authority of the Syriac version of Sixtus V.'s famous edition, and of certain excellent MSS. of the Vulgate ;—all which read 4 not 40.

2. SOLOMON was anointed to the succession, six months, as the Primate computes, before the decease of David : And the 40 full years, assigned to the reign of the father, he considers as complete in the first month before the son was consecrated. From that first month is the new reign counted in the Annals, a full half year before the demise of the father.

SAUL was anointed privately about the time of the passover, in the year from the Exodus 396. About seven weeks after, in the time of wheat harvest, Samuel resigned his commission as supreme magistrate. Count forward 80 years for that and the subsequent reign, the reckoning is continued to the first month of the year 476. Solomon might have been anointed six months before his father's death. But it was not the usage of the Hebrews to account the last complete year

* 2 Sam. xiv. 24.

† Ant. vii. 9. 1.

66 · *CHRONOLOGY from the Death of SAUL, &c.*

of a senior monarch the first of his successor. Solomon's sole reign began with Abib, 477 from the Exodus; for in the second month, in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of Egypt, and in the 4th of his reign, Solomon laid the foundation of the house of the Lord *.

JOSEPHUS disagrees not only with the canonical records, concerning the length of the interval from Adam, from the deluge, from the arrival of Abraham in Canaan, and from the egress, to the foundation of the temple; but also with himself, in different parts of his works; even when the same events and times are his subject †. Strong was his predilection in favour of an amplified chronology. In two characters of the time he confirms the authority of the sacred Annals, affirming that the work of the Temple was begun in the second month of the ecclesiastical Hebrew year, and in the fourth of Solomon. That month he farther connects with the Macedonian Artemisius; and that year with the eleventh of Hiram, king of Tyre, as in the same passage; or with the 12th, as in the 16th section of his first Book against Apion.

* 1 K. vi. 1—37.

† Ant. iii. 3-1.

*Fifth Age of the World. From the Foundation to
the Overthrow of the Temple.*

C H A P. I.

Chronology of Solomon's Reign.

HENCE commences a new term of computation. "It came to pass, at the end of 20 years after Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the Lord, and his own house, that Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities." The 24th of his reign is thus characterised, as the 20th from the foundation of the Temple exclusively.

THREE years having been spent in providing materials for this great work, it was finished in seven years, in the 8th month of the 11th year from the death of David. That the dedication might derive solemnity from one of the national festivals, it was deferred to the Feast of Tabernacles in the subsequent year. The Primate assigns another reason for this delay;—that it might coincide with the return of the ninth jubile. But that year was not concurrent with the source of computation from the division of the land, and these observances were totally neglected from the consecration of Saul, to the days of Nehemiah.

F 2

AFTER

68 CHRONOLOGY of SOLOMON'S REIGN.

AFTER Solomon had employed thirteen years more in building his own house, he proceeded to raise numerous and magnificent structures about Jerusalem, and in other parts of his dominions, twenty cities in Galilee, Hazer, Megiddo, Tadmora, or Palmyra, in the wilderness, cities of store, &c. : all which works of use and grandeur, justify the supposition, that he continued many years in the practice of those virtues which attracted the admiration both of his subjects and of foreign princes. After he had finished all the stupendous enterprises recorded in his history, he continued to frame his life by the principles of piety and wisdom ; for three times a year he offered burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar which he had built *. This intimation implies perseverance during a series of years ; and it was not till after he was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods †.

AN accurate computation allows only 39 full years for his reign. The 40th, as incomplete, is accounted the first of Rehoboam. As a memorial of the schism, which gave rise to the unhappy distinction between the Samaritans and Jews, the ancient Hebrews, who adhered to the tribe of Judah, kept a yearly fast on the 23d day of the 3d month from the first of Rehoboam.

This fact, as to the year, is with no less certainty authenticated, by Jeroboam's appointment of a feast in the eighth month, like unto the feast of the seventh month in Judah ‡.

* 1 K. ix. 25.

† Chap. xi. 1—3.

‡ 1 K. xii. 32.

CHRONOLOGY of SOLOMON'S REIGN. 69

ABSTRACT of the chronology from Saul to the apostacy of the ten tribes.

Years after the Exodus	-	435	W. J. P. B.C.	
David begins to reign in Hebron		436	2951	3656 1057
————— in Jerusalem		443	2958	3663 1050
Uriah slain in battle	-	454	2969	3674 1039
Solomon born	-	456	2971	3676 1037
Amnon slain, Absalom flees to Geshur	-	458	2973	3678 1035
Absalom recalled	-	461	2976	3681 1032
Goes to Hebron, and rebels	-	468	2980	3685 1028
Solomon anointed, David dies	-	476	2991	3696 1017
Solomon's sole reign begins	-	476	2992	3697 1016
The Temple founded	-	480	2995	3700 1013
Dedicated	-	8	3003	3708 1005
Rehoboam born	-	1	3004	3709 1004
Solomon dies, revolt of the ten tribes	-	26	3030	3735 998

THE subsequent years are not counted from the date of the Temple; but from a prophetic period of 390 years, commencing with the first of Rehoboam, A. M. 3031, and ending with the breaking up of the city, in the 11th of Zedekiah, 3421. If the 36 years prior to the accession of Rehoboam be comprehended in the reckoning, the whole duration of the first Temple is 426 years.

C H A P. II.

Chronology from Solomon to Athalia.

WITH the defection of ten tribes from the house of David, the sceptre of Rehoboam, and a pure worship, begins a new series of contemporary and independent kings. The two royal calendars, being exact counterparts, augment the labour of comparing dates, but hence computation acquires precision and certainty. In Judah the reigns are longer than those in Samaria, and, as fewer broken years occur, the register of the former claims the preference, as a regulating measure: The years characterised as coincident do not always run parallel. Sufficient it is, that they touch in one common point. Sometimes the same year, making a part of two reigns, is twice counted. To discriminate such notations is the province of critical skill. In this period the sum of the reigns in Jerusalem is 95, and at Samaria 98. As Rehoboam and Jeroboam ascended their respective thrones at the same time, so Ahaziah and Jehoram perished together. The interval, therefore, ought to be the same by both calendars. To bring them to an equation, it is previously requisite to examine, whether all the years in the Chronicles of the Kings in Judah were full,

CHRONOLOGY *from* SOLOMON *to* ATHALIA. 71

IT has already been noted, that the 41st of Afa, and the 25th of Jehoshaphat, being incomplete, are severally accounted the first of the subsequent reigns. Thus is the duration of the six reigns in Judah reduced to 93. The nine in Samaria, tried by this standard, may be circumscribed within the same limits.

ANALYSIS of the reigns from A. M. 3030, to 3123.

Judah.		Samaria.		Judah.		Samaria.	
Rehoboam	17	Jeroboam	17 17	Jehoshaphat	20	Ahaziah	1 80
Abijah	3		20 20	Jehoram's	7 1 21		2 81
Afa	1		21 21	joint reign	2 22	Joram	1 82
	2	Nadab	1 22 22		3 23		2 83
	3	Baalha	2 1 23		4 24		3 84
	26	Elah	1 24 46	Sole reign	1 25		4 85
	27		2 47		2		5 86
		Zimri			3		6 87
		Omri	1		4		7 88
	28		2 48		5		8 89
	38	Ahab	1 12 58		6		9 90
	39		2 59		7		10 91
Jehoshaphat	41		4 61	Ahaziah	8		11 92
	2		5 62		1		12 93 *
	19		22 79				

FROM the scheme of co-existent sovereigns it is obvious, that the four years assigned to Nadab and Ela are comprehended in the reigns of Jeroboam, Baalha, and Omri, on the throne of Israel. The last of Jeroboam coincides with the first of Afa, and the first of Omri with the 27th; so that the intermediate years in the kingdom of Samaria are, by the numbers of reference, reduced from 30 to 26. Ahab began to reign in the 38th of Afa, which was the 12th of Omri, who dying before its termination, the whole year is accounted the first of Ahab.

* Abp. Usher extends this period to 95.

72 CHRONOLOGY *from* SOLOMON *to* ATHALIA.

IN each chronicle a few notations, seemingly discordant, occur.

“ IN the 36th year of Afa, Baasha came up against Judah *.” But, “ In the 26th of Afa, Elah the son of Baasha began to reign over Israel †.” Of this invasion the true date was certainly the 26th of Afa; for Josephus appositely remarks, that Baasha, after a repulse, returned immediately to his own country, and being prevented by death, had no leisure to meditate expeditions against Judah.

“ IN the 27th of Afa, Omri set fire to Zimri’s palace, and burnt it over him, so that he perished in the conflagration ‡.” But Omri’s reign is dated from the 31st of Afa §. This apparent incongruity is obviated in the context. The people was divided. One faction made Omri king, another declared in favour of Tibni: After a conflict of four years Tibni died, and Omri reigned.

“ AHAZIAH the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in the 17th of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and reigned two years ||.” From the history it is probable that Ahab, alarmed by the awful threatenings denounced against him on account of Nabal’s murder, took his son Ahaziah into a partnership in the sovereignty three years before his death, though these, conformably to the usual mode of computation, are included in his reign of 22 years. The true date of this conjunct reign is the 17th of Jehoshaphat, as above expressed, and the two

* 2 Chr. xvi. 1.

† 1 K. xvi. 8.

‡ 1 K. xvi. 19.

§ Ver. 23.

|| 1 K. xxii. 51.

years

CHRONOLOGY from SOLOMON to ATHALIA. 73

years of the son's sole reign are counted from the decease of the father.

“JEHORAM, the son of Ahab, king of Israel, began to reign in the 18th of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and reigned 12 years*.” This arrangement excludes two years from the reign of Ahab with the two subsequent years of his immediate successor, Ahaziah, and extends the reign of this Jehoram to 16. But certain it is, that prior to the accession of Jehoram king of Samaria, his brother Ahaziah consulted with Jehoshaphat, concerning an expedition to Ophir, in the interval from the death of Ahab. Jehoram, therefore, was not invested with sovereignty so early as the 18th of Jehoshaphat, for in the 19th Ahab died. By some incidental mistake in transcribing this text, 18 is substituted for 22; and the error is repeated in the Septuagint, and other versions.

THE reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, had a double commencement; the one in his father's lifetime, the other at the vacancy of the throne. For Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, in Samaria, having died without a son, was succeeded by his brother Jehoram, in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah †; and, “in the fifth of Joram, the son of Ahab, Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah, began his son Jehoram to reign ‡.”

* 2 K. iii. 1.

† 2 K. i. 17.

‡ Ch. viii. 16.

THESE

74 CHRONOLOGY *from SOLOMON to ATHALIA.*

THESE two notations imply, that Jehoram began twice to reign in Judah, while his father was living, and both are accurate. In the 21st of Jehoshaphat began the conjunct reign; so that the 22d was the first of Joram in Samaria; and the second of Jehoram in Judah. Again, Jehoshaphat died during the currency of his 25th year, which being incomplete, was accounted the first of his son's sole reign, coincident with the fifth of Joram in Samaria. At the beginning of this year Jehoshaphat was living; but his reign in full years did not exceed 24. The result of a minute scrutiny into the phraseology of the sacred writers, is sufficient to convince every intelligent and candid reader, that some expressions, seemingly contradictory, are examples of the strictest precision.

Both the eleventh and twelfth of Joram in Israel are assigned for the one year of Ahaziah, the son of Jehoram in Judah *. These dates exclude both perplexity and error. In the last year of his father's reign and life, Ahaziah had been invested with royalty, as copartner in the government. But as the senior sovereign lived to the end of that year, the son's accession is computed from the 12th of Joram, king of Israel.

THE age of Jehoram, king of Judah, when he began to reign, was 32 †. The subsequent genealogies require, that his reign be computed from the 21st of his father inclusively. In the first of his sole reign he was 36 years old, and after a reign of eight years, he died at the age of 44. His son Ahaziah succeeded him

* 2 Kings, ix. 29. and viii. 25.

† 2 Kings, viii. 17.

CHRONOLOGY *from* SOLOMON *to* ATHALIA. 75

at the age of 42 *. This egregious mistake in the original text, is, as Kennicott observes, happily corrected in an excellent MS. supposed to be 800 years old, where the number is 22, and in the Syriac and Arabic versions. This is likewise the reading in the editions of the Septuagint, by Aldus, and by Wecheliuſ, 1697. But the most decisive authority is that of the parallel Hebrew text †, where all the copies, manuscript and printed, with all the versions, exhibit the less number, which seems to have been originally marked with the numerical letters כ ב, 22, and afterwards inadvertently changed into ד כ, 42, in one copy of the text in the Chronicles. In process of time the erroneous notation became general, while the true reading in the parallel passage was retained. In computation it is an invariable rule, that historical consistency is more to be regarded, than notes of number, which, if casually interchanged, or otherwise varied, are a source of perplexity in reckoning by generations.

By the aid of chronological characters, applied to coexistent reigns, are the years of the kings of Israel, adjusted to those of Judah, in this period, the common measure being 93, in perfect harmony with the reports of the Sacred Chronicle. Two numbers only deviate from the truth of computation, the 36th of Aſa is put for the 26th, and the 18th for the 22d of Jehoshaphat. But such mistakes, as are discoverable by comparing the context with itself, lead to no deception.

* 2 Chron. xxli. 2.

† 2 Kings, viii. 26.

C H A P. III.

From Athalia to the Reduction of Samaria.

I N his Treatise on the Sacred Chronology the venerable Primate remarks, that the sum of the reigns over Judah, in this period, is 165 ; those over Israel 143 years 7 months ; the deficiency being 21 years 5 months. With respect to the former series, the author deviates from his arrangement in the Annals, where the interval is restricted to 163. The larger number is a correction justified by the sacred registers. Yet by a strange fatality, he proceeds to an equation, and retrenching one year from the reign of Jehoash, another from Ahaz, restores the deficient number. As no hint of an incomplete year, or of a joint administration, occurs in either case, this abridgement is inadmissible. In the former period, the subject of the preceding chapter, it is recorded, that Aza died in the 41st year from his accession ; and that the first of Jehoram's sole reign, began while Jehoshaphat was king of Judah. These hints, had the Metropolitan attended to them, gave him full authority for reducing the space between Solomon and Athalia from 95 to 93 years. If no other unchronological abbreviations had been made, the length of
the

the interval from the accession of Rehoboam to the disperſion of the apoſtate tribes, would have agreed with every recorded criterion of the intermediate times.

THIS period may conveniently be divided into two parts.

I. From the death of Ahaziah to that of Uzziah, kings of Judah, the ſum of the reigns is 127. Uzziah and Pekahiah, king of Iſrael, died in the ſame year. From the 12th of Joram, excluſively, to the death of Pekahiah, muſt likewiſe intervene 127 years. Jeroboam II, in Samaria, died 14 years after the beginning of Uzziah's perſonal reign in Judah, which was the 13th from the death of Amaziah; and $13 + 14 = 27$, connect the 41ſt, or laſt, year of Jeroboam with the 27th of Uzziah, thus:

Athalia	-	6	Jehu	-	28
Jehoah	-	40	Jehoahaz		17
Amaziah	-	29	Joah	-	16
Uzziah	-	27	Jeroboam		41
<hr/>			<hr/>		
102			102		

UZZIAH reigned 52 years, and conſequently lived 25 after Jeroboam. But the reigns of Jeroboam's ſucceſſors, from Zachariah to Pekahiah, both included, make but 12 years 7 months. Here is a deficiency of 11 years 5 months, the complement of 25.

It muſt be preſumed, that from the 27th to the 38th of Uzziah, when Zachariah aſcended the vacant throne, was a ſeaſon of anarchy in Samaria. Suppoſe it to have laſted 11 years nearly; for though Zachariah's fix months began in the 38th, they ended in the 39th.

IN

IN this year he was slain by Shallum ; and Shallum, after one full month, by Menahem. According to the usual rule of computation, the whole year should have been reckoned to Menahem. But his right to the throne was not immediately recognized. Of a throne, acquired by blood, he could not obtain possession, without violence. Those inhabitants, who would not open their cities to him, he smote with the sword, and ripped up the women with child. At last, despairing of success, he bribed Pul, king of Assyria, with 1000 talents of silver, to confirm the kingdom in his hand, and prevailed.

THE time of this conflict for domination, it is reasonable to suppose, was two years, including the few months assigned to Zachariah and Shallum. Having forcibly invaded the throne, he reigned 10 years, and was succeeded by Pekaiah, his son, who died after two years. The reigns in Samaria subsequent to the demise of Jeroboam, adjusted to the remaining years of Uzziah in Jerusalem, are as follow :

Uzziah	-	27	Jeroboam dies.		
		38	11	Interreign	- - 11
		39	1	Zachariah and Shallum	1
		40	1	Interreign	- - 1
		50	10	Menahem	- 10
Uzziah dies	-	52	2	Pekaiah dies	- 2
					<hr/>
			25		25
		+	102		+ 102
					<hr/>
			127		127
					<hr/>
					II. THE

II. THE remaining division of this period comprehends the two reigns of Jotham and Ahaz with the first six years of Hezekiah:— $16 + 16 + 6 = 38$. In the chronicle of the contemporary kings in Israel, 20 years only are assigned to Pekah, and 9 to Hoshea; the deficiency 9. Two notations in the register indicate a successful expedient for ascertaining the equality of the numbers.

I. PEKAH was slain in the 20th year from the death of Uzziah, or 4th of Ahaz, which the sacred historian, by a very unusual mode of expression, calls the 20th of Jotham the son of Uzziah*. Jotham reigned but 16 years. Pekah was, therefore, murdered in the fourth of his successor. But here an objection occurs. “In the second year of Pekah, king of Israel, began Jotham, king of Judah, to reign†.” Consequently the first of Pekah was coincident both with the second of his predecessor Pekahiah, and also with the 52d of Uzziah, on the throne of Judah. But, if one invariable rule in computation be applied, the objection will disappear. Pekah most probably ascended the throne of Israel a few days or weeks before the death of Uzziah, who it may be presumed did survive the then ensuing month of Abib, whence the second of Pekah, according to the usual mode of computation, began. From the same term likewise was counted the first of Jotham. Yet, the far greater part of the same year being common to both princes, the sacred historian, by connecting the

* 2 Kings, xv. 30.

† V. 32.

20th of Pekah with the 20th from the demise of Uzziah exclusively, intimates, that, in this one instance, he deviates from the general rule of counting a few days or weeks a whole year.

2. THE reign of Hoshea, in Samaria, is dated from the 12th of Ahaz *; that is, eight full years after the murder of Pekah. Here is a decisive intimation of an interreign in Israel. To Hoshea is assigned a reign of nine years. But the 20 years of Pekah, the nine of Hoshea, and the eight of an interreign, is no more than 37, or less by unity than 38, the interval from the death of Uzziah to the sixth of Hezekiah inclusively. This defect may be supplied, by supposing, that, in the 12th of Ahaz, Hoshea, either by force, or by the consent of the people, had surmounted the resistance of an opposite faction, and that his reign is to be computed from the 13th of Ahaz. Thus are the reigns of the kings, in the rival states, brought to an exact equation.

Jotham	-	16	Pekah	-	20
Ahaz	-	16	Interreign	-	9
Hezekiah	-	6	Hoshea	-	9
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		38			38
		+127			+127
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		165			165
		+93			+93
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		258			258

* 2 Kings, xvii. 1.

USHER allows but 254 years from the revolt to the removal of the ten tribes. The reason of this abbreviation has already been assigned. In the Annals the birth of Arphaxad and of Abraham is anticipated each by one year. A third is retrenched from the reign of Jehoash, and a fourth from that of Ahaz. These mistakes being rectified, the reduction of Samaria is brought down to its true date A. M. 3288, not 3284.

“THEY who make operose explications of little difficulties, are more solicitous in defending the chronology of the scripture, than it needeth. In reckoning the times, the sacred writers do not insist on the niceties of odd months, days, or parts of a year*.” Even this remark is more *than it needeth*. No other historians are so careful to distinguish incomplete from full years, to characterize excurrent months, and days, by the years of co-existent reigns, and to suggest more hints than are strictly necessary to the truth of computation. Of the inspired authors this is one peculiar mark of perfection. In the foregoing arrangements the utmost regard has been had to those numbers of reference, without which it would have been impossible to methodise the history of this period; and it is, with much satisfaction, discovered, that all are perfectly consistent. Subjoined are the synchronisms in the reigns from the 93d year subsequent to the death of Solomon, exhibited at one view.

* Wall's note on 2 Kings, ix. 29.

82 CHRONOLOGY *from* ATHALIA, &c.

Judah.		Samaria.		Judah.		Samaria.	
Athalia	6	Jehu	6 99	Uzziah	51	Pekahiah	1 219
Jehoash	1		7 100		52	Pekah	2 220
	22		28 121	Jotham	1		1 221
	23	Jehoahaz	1 122		16		16 236
	39		17 138	Ahaz	1		17 237
	40	Joash	1 139		2		18 238
Amaziah	1		2 140		3		19 239
	15		16 154		4	Pekah slain	20 240
	16	Jeroboam	1 155		13	Interreign	9 249
	29		14 168		14	Hoshea *	1 250
Uzziah a } Minor	12		26 180		15		2 251
Personal } reign	13		27 181	Hezekiah	1		4 253
	27		41 195		2		5 254
	38	Interreign	11 206		3		6 255
	39	Zachariah } and Shal- } lum }	1 207		4		7 256
	40	Interreign	1 208		5		8 257
	50	Menahem	10 218	The ten } tribes }	6	carried away	9 258

It merits regard, that the long reign of Uzziah happily serves, as an adjusting measure, for seven short reigns, and three vacancies of the throne in Samaria.

* Hoshea's first year is connected with the 12th of Ahaz (2 Kings, xvii. 1.). In the table it coincides with the 14th. This apparent discord of dates admits a very probable compromise. In the 12th of Ahaz, either by consent or compulsion, Hoshea might obtain the sovereignty; but the sacred historian judged it proper to include the nine full years of usurpation, and to compute the reign of the same quantity from the 14th of Ahaz, in which it most probably ended. Some part of the same year might be common to both princes, though it did not begin and end with the same day of the co-existent reigns.

C H A P. IV.

*From the Removal of the Ten Tribes to the Con-
flagration of the First Temple.*

THAT useful directory, the Chronicle of Samaria, unavoidably ceased with the political existence of that establishment. Its use, however, is happily superseded by Ptolemy's Mathematical Canon, which opens 26 years prior to the extinction of the kingdom in Israel, and terminates with the reign of Antoninus the Philosopher, one full century after the Christian era.

THE reigns in Judah are still computed from Abib. But to all of them the Annals assign another date from different months of their several years. The authorities produced from the sacred records, if properly interpreted, do not establish the author's positions, a full examination of which is reserved for the enlarged Arrangements, where it will be shewn, that his conclusions are at variance with the chronology and history of the times.

THIS period ends with A. M. 3421, 427 years after the foundation of the Temple. But from the 39th of Solomon's reign exclusively, 3030, begins a new

source of computation, by the noted term of 390 years, beyond which the punishment of Israel's apostasy was not to be deferred*.

As a regulating measure for the remaining reigns in Judah, it is requisite to set those of Chaldea in juxtaposition. An abbreviated scheme follows.

Jerusalem.		Babylon.		Jerusalem.		Babylon.	
Hezekiah	7	Mard. Em-	2 259	Josiah	16	Nabopol-	1 354
	17	padus	12 269	Jehoahaz	31	assar	16 369
	22	Archianus	5 274	Jehoiakim	1		17 370
	24	Interreign	2 276		4	Nebuchad-	120 373
	27	Belibus	3 279		5	nezzar†	221 374
	28	Aprona-	1 280		6		3 375
	29	dus	2 281		7		4 376
Manassch	1		3 282		8		5 376
	4		6 285		9		6 377
	5	Regilibus	1 286		10		7 378
	9	Meceffi-	} 4 290	Jehoiachin	11		8 379
		morda-		Zedekiah	1		9 380
		cus			2		10 381
	17	Interreign	8 298		3		11 382
	30	Efarhad-	} 13 311		4		12 383
		don			5		13 384
	50	Saofdu-	} 20 331		6		14 385
		chinus			7		15 386
	51	Nebuchado-	1 332		8		16 387
	55	uofor	5 336		9		17 388
Amon	2		7 338		10		18 389
Josiah	1		8 339		11		19 390
	15		22 353				
						A. M.	3421

* See Ezekiel, iv.

† Daniel, adopting the computation of Chaldea, where he wrote his Prophecies, dates Nebuchadnezzar's reign from the death of his father. But all the other sacred authors reckon from the fourth of Jehoiakim.

The duration of the divine forbearance with the idolatrous Israelites, presigned to Ezekiel, was limited to 390 years, the last of which began in the tenth of Zedekiah, which was the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar, Jer. xxxii. 1.; and ended on the ninth of the fourth month in the subsequent year, when the famine was fore in the city, and Zedekiah bound with fetters. 2 Kings, xxiv. 5-7.

Stages

CAPTIVITY OF JUDAH.

85

Stages of the Siege according to the Hebrew and Roman Calendar.

	A. M.	Heb.	Rom.
Zedekiah's 9th year begins	3419	Abib	1 April 10 m.
Siege begun	-	3420 Shebat	10 Jan. 14 th.
10th of Zedekiah begins		Abib	1 April 28 f.
Siege renewed	-	Sivan	16 July 12 f.
11th of Zedekiah begins	3421	Abib	1 April 17 t.
Famine prevails. The siege raised		Tamuz	10 July 26 th.
Conflagration of the temple		Ab	10 Aug. 25 f.
Captives carried to Babylon			20 Sept. 4 t.

THESE Arrangements, the result of calculations, constructed on infallible characters of time, expressed in several concurrent texts, evince, that the years of Zedekiah are not computed, as in the Annals, from the tenth day of the fourth month, and that the eleventh in particular, did not expire till the end of the eighth month exclusively from the date of his captivity.

IF from the breaking up the city, on the 26th July, 390 years be counted back, to the first of Rehoboam, which was the 40th of Solomon, their commencement, without regard to the Hebrew lunar form, will coincide with Wednesday the 27th July A. M. 3031, the true historical term, whence the establishment of idol-worship in Samaria is to be computed.

USHER, Prideaux, Bedford, and others, continue the currency of the 390 years to the 23d of Nebuchadnezzar, when Nebuzaradan returned to Jerusalem, and thence carried away into Babylon 745 captives *.

* Jer. lii. 30.

THIS obvious metachronism is the unavoidable consequence of taking four full years from the age of the world, and of connecting the historical date of our Lord's nativity with A.M. 4000. But the origin of this mistake is not now the subject of discussion. Its effects must be examined. It contradicts the numbers and imagery of the prophetic vision in the fourth chapter of Ezekiel;—nay, perverts the very terms by which the whole is explained. The complex apparatus relates entirely to a then future siege of Jerusalem;—a siege of a determinate length;—neither more nor less than 390 natural days. These natural days represented as many natural years in past historical time. If the first of the 390 days represented the first of the 390 years, evident is the absurdity of affirming, that the 390th year and the 390th day had a different termination.

FROM the time of raising the siege, 40 days more were to intervene before the carrying away of Judah into captivity. These represent as many years of the divine patience towards the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (comprehending also the remains of the ten other tribes, who had adhered to the house of David, since the reduction of Samaria); and are counted in the scheme from the 10th of Tamuz to the 20th of Ab. The 40 correspondent years are numbered from the beginning of Jeremiah's ministry, in the 13th of Josiah.

Sixth

Sixth Age of the World.

C H A P. I.

From the Restoration of the Jews to the Fall of the Persian Empire.

IN the interval, from the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar to the first of Cyrus, very little is recorded of the Hebrew captives, while exiles from their country.

FOR connecting the history of this people, and the chronology of the subsequent times, with the Mathematical Syntaxis of Ptolemy, is wanted a counterpart, similar to the Royal Calendar in Judah. From this defect arises the loss of a national directory in computation. A register, though not compiled wholly by inspired writers, neither in the form of a national directory, occurs. Its materials exist, though in a state of dispersion, among the records of various nations. This was precisely the condition of the Jews themselves, after the dissolution of their monarchy. But still the semblance of supremacy was preserved, in the persons of certain chiefs, called Princes of the Captivity, or in high priests, often invested with the functions of magistracy. In the sacred and apocryphal books, as far as they extend, are preserved the names, number, and

order of succession, in which such princes, or pontiffs, obtained jurisdiction, from the first of Cyrus, to the nominal sovereignty of Herod, when the high priesthood ceased to be hereditary. Much useful information of this sort, is likewise contained in the *Alexandrine Chronicle* * ; but especially in *Josephus*, who is much more accurate in his accounts of the high priests, subsequent to the close of the Hebrew canon, than in the times of the Judges and Kings.

AT the time of Zedekiah's degradation, Seraiah was put to death at Riblah, after he had worn the mitre about 13 years. During the captivity we read of no other high priest than his son, Joadac. Probable it is, that he did not all that time hold this honourable rank. If he did not, he might have been succeeded by an elder Son, or, as was not unusual, in the event of a minority, by a priest in the collateral line, till Jeshua should attain the legal age of consecration. Invested with this character he returned with Zorobabel, and retained the dignity 53 years.

AN objection is to be removed. In the second year of Cyrus, Jeshua had sons appointed to set forward the work of the Temple ; which implies an advanced age at the time of the return from Babylon, and renders improbable the hypothesis of so very long a pontificate †.

* It was first discovered in an old library in Sicily. One copy was brought to Rome, another afterwards to Augsburgh in Germany, where it was translated and published in 1624. Prideaux prefers, in many things, its authority to that of Africanus and Eusebius.

† Ezra, iii. 9.

BUT Jeshua the high priest is always characterized as the son of Josadac. Whereas the Jeshua in the specified text, and in all others, where his name occurs, was of the Levites, a class inferior even to that of the ordinary priests *. The Jeshua, whose sons set forward the work of the house of the Lord, was the Levite, and is always mentioned with Kadmiel.

IN this period Aaron's rod began to blossom afresh, when the prerogatives, annexed for a time, to the sceptre of Judah, were restricted to his own tribe.

Primo avulso, non deficit alter
Aureus, & simili frondescit virga metallo. VIRG.

One pluck'd away, a second branch ye see
Shoot forth in gold, and glitter thro' the tree. PITT.

SUCH are the numerous records, whence may be constructed a competent directory for regulating the chronology of the times, to which the canonical history does not reach. In certain notations they differ from one another. To them is not ascribed the attribute of infallibility. The writings even of the inspired historians and prophets seem in some things to disagree. But apparently discordant passages being brought to the test of sound criticism, conformably to the course of nature, and the truth of computation, every colour of ambiguity, error, or imposture, acquires the aspect of credibility.

* See Ezra ii. 40. Neh. vii. 43.—x. 9—xii. 8. 24. See also Dr. Wall's note on Ezra, iii. 9; and Prideaux, vol. i. 215. fol. edition.

ANALYSIS of the Jewish history, under the princes of the captivity, and high priests, connected with the reigns in Babylon and Persia, from the overthrow of the first temple to the rise of the Greek empire; together with the corrected dates, misplaced, in Usher's Annals.

Years from the death of Seraiah, A. M. 3421.

Josadac	Nebuchad- ²	26	Eliahib	1	12	125
	nezzar }		Nehemiah's	9	Commission	20 133
	Evil Merodac	28	Eliahib	10	Art. Long.	21 134
	Neriglissar	4 32		30		41 154
	Belshazzar	17 49		31	Dar. Nothus	1 155
	Dar. Medus	2 51		40		9 163
Jeshua	1 Cyrus	- 1 52	Joiadah	1		11 165
	7	7 58	End of the	5	Sacred hist.	15 169
	15 Cambyfes			9		19 173
	Smerdis }	8 66		10	Art. Mnem.	1 174
	16 Dar. Hyft.	1 67		40		31 204
	51	36 102	Jonathan	1		32 205
	52 Xerxes	1 103		15		46 219
Jeshua dies	53	2 104		16	Ochus	1 220
Joiakim	1	3 105		32		17 236
	19	21 113	Jaddua	1		18 237
	20 Art. Long.	1 114		4		21 240
The 70 weeks }	26 begin	7 120		6	Arogus	2 243
	30	11 124			Codom.	4 247
						A. M. 3668

IT now remains, that the anachronisms in the Annals be reduced to the natural order of genuine history.

1. THE identity of Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, with the Ahasuerus mentioned Ezra, iv. 6; and of Smerdis, the magian, with the Artaxerxes, in the seventh verse, is an arbitrary hypothesis of Usher, and rashly adopted by Prideaux and Bedford.

CAMBYSES, and his successor Smerdis, the impostor, occupied the Persian throne from the demise of Cyrus to the accession of Darius Hystaspis, a short period of eight years, according to the report of the most credible

ble historians, and the computation of Ptolemy, the mathematician. In the sacred history it is recorded, "That the people of the land," that is, the disaffected Samaritans, "weakened the hands of the people in Judah, and troubled them in building (the Temple), all the days of Cyrus, even unto the reign of Darius, king of Persia." This interval comprehends 14 years.

NONE of the Pagan writers has distinguished Cambyfes by the name of Ahasuerus; and though Smerdis had several names, which are well known, yet that of Artaxerxes was certainly not of the number.

THE opposition raised by evil counsellors, who had been hired to frustrate the purpose of the builders, prior to the reign of Darius Hystaspis, seems to have been the project of a tumultuous faction at home, without the knowledge or authority of the Persian court. If the deputy governors in Samaria, instigated by the adversaries of Judah, did transmit to Cambyfes, in the commencement of his reign, a remonstrance against the rebuilding of the Temple, no evidence of his prohibiting the work, by a royal edict, exists. Improbable it is, that he would reverse a national deed, so lately and solemnly ratified by his father. His short and bustling reign, embroiled with foreign wars, particularly the conquest of Egypt, left him but few and short intervals, for the administration of Persia; much less for interfering with the affairs of remote provinces.

SMERDIS, during the few months of his usurpation, solicitous to conceal the infamy of his mutilated ears,
and

and to guard against the apprehended danger of a violent death, seldom appeared in public, and discharged few functions of royalty. Besides, before the Samaritans could obtain an answer to their complaint (if any were produced), he had undergone the punishment due to his imposture and treason.

THE conclusion from these premises is, that the resistance to the building of the Temple, from the time of Cyrus to Darius, proceeded wholly from the malevolence of the Samaritan faction, without the approbation of the intermediate princes, Cambyfes and Smerdis.

BUT in the second year of Darius, Tatnai, the Deputy Governor in Samaria, with his companions, tried, though without effect, to hinder the elders of Judah from proceeding to build the house of the Lord. A letter was sent from Samaria to Darius, setting forth, that the Jews had begun, and were still continuing in that work, under the pretended sanction of authority from Cyrus. The remonstrants submitted to the king's good pleasure, whether the national archives should be searched, in order to discover the original of that decree. The records were consulted, and the deed found to be authentic. Darius immediately enforced the commission by Cyrus, adding ample encouragements to the builders, and denouncing on their enemies grievous pains and penalties. The Jews continued to build, and the house was finished in the sixth year of that reign. This is the sum of what is recorded in the canonical Book of Ezra, concerning the work of the second Temple.

Temple. Before its dedication the rebuilding of the city was not begun.

ON this principle it is presumed, that the Ahafuerus and Artaxerxes, mentioned in the sixth and seventh verses of the fourth chapter, were not the *predecessors*, but the *successors* of Darius Hyftaspis; and consequently were Xerxes and his son, Artaxerxes Longimanus.

“In the reign of Ahafuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they * an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerufalem.” The articles of this accusation are not expressed. They could not, however, relate to the restoration of the Temple, for that structure had been finished full 30 years before the accession of Xerxes. Of that complaint the subject, doubtless, was the rebuilding of the city: and this conjecture the words of the text confirm. In the preceding verses, which treat of the Temple only, the people of Judah alone are mentioned. The city did not then exist otherwise than as a heap of ruins. Now, after the lapse of 30 years, considerable progress must, under the patronage of Darius, have been made in rearing up its desolate edifices. Not without peculiar emphasis does the historian observe, “That this accusation was written against the INHABITANTS of JUDAH and JERUSALEM.”

THE history gives no fuller account of the result of this remonstrance, than of its contents, though they are inferred by implication. It had very probably an effect,

* The people of the land, and their counsellors.

Similar.

similar to the complaint preferred in the former reign. It was meant for mischief, but productive of good. It is the remark of Josephus, "That Xerxes inherited not only the kingdom, but also the piety, of his father Darius; for he did all things relative to the divine worship, in imitation of so worthy a pattern, and approved himself a munificent benefactor of the Jews *." Here is a fortuitous, but not indecisive presumption, that this writer considered Xerxes as the Ahasuerus in Ezra, iv. 6.

"IN the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, &c. a letter against Jerusalem." This remonstrance is explicitly declared to have had for its subject the building of the rebellious and bad city, the walls of which had then been set up, and the foundations joined. During the space of 41 years from the dedication of the Temple, had the Jews, enabled by a royal grant from Darius, and continued by Xerxes, of all the tribute arising from the lands in Judah, Samaria, and Galilee, proceeded with all dispatch, without much disturbance from their schismatical neighbours †. The Samaritans, grudging so large a contribution, extorted annually for the expo-

* Ant. xi. 5. 1.

† The words of the grant are, "Moreover, I make a decree, that of the king's goods, even of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith expences be given unto these men that they be not hindered." Ezra, vi. 8. By "*the tribute beyond the river*," it is not meant the whole taxes arising from all the provinces of the Persian empire, on the west of the Euphrates; but, in a more restricted sense, the produce of the revenues imposed on the late kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

lament of the Jews, repeated their grievances, with petitions of relief, at the commencement of every new reign; and at the accession of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the usual expedient was not omitted. He, implicitly believing the accusation, in its full extent, as set forth, without hearing the Jews in their own defence, gave orders that the city should not be builded, till a new commandment should be given from himself*. The commissioners returned, and made the Jews to cease by force and power; nor was this peremptory prohibition reversed before the seventh year of the same reign†.

2. THE computation of the Annals deviates from the truth of history, in affirming, that Darius Hystaspis was the prince, who, under the name of Ahasuerus, divorced Vashti and espoused Esther. On the authority of the Septuagint, Josephus, and the apocryphal book

* Ezra, iv. 24.

† This arrangement of reigns, events, and dates, from the first of Cyrus, is authorized by the testimony of the Pagan writers, and, with the help of a few necessary transpositions, accords in perfect harmony with the reports contained in the books of the canonical and apocryphal Ezra.

This order of times, and incidents, does not incur the censure of novelty; though even novelty is not a certain criterion of error. It rests on the authority of the great Sir Isaac Newton, (Chronol. ch. vi.) and is confirmed by additional remarks and evidences, in a brief essay on the Chronology of some Passages, &c. subjoined to Dr. Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament, vol. iii. The author of this Analysis would have been happy in referring to authorities equally respectable in support of many other conjectures, for which he alone is responsible.

of Esther;—all which records testify, that the king, whose queen was Esther, and whose prime minister was Haman, had the name of Artaxerxes *. On their authority, Lee, Prideaux, Whiston, &c. dissent from the Primate's hypothesis, which anticipates the history of the canonical book by 59 years.

THE contents of the first two chapters of the Hebrew Esther are a proper introduction to the seventh of the Hebrew Ezra, which history ends with the seventh year of Artaxerxes. The remaining part of Esther continues the history to the 13th of the same reign; and the book of Nehemiah opens with the 20th.

3. BY the consent of all historians Xerxes reigned 21 years, and Artaxerxes, after his father's demise, 41. But in the Annals, 12 years only are counted to the father, and the nine subsequent years to the son, and the reign of the latter extended to 51. This distribution is arbitrary, and repugnant to history and the course of nature.

BY curtailing the reign and life of Xerxes, contrary to the testimony of all the historians, (except Thucydides), and to Ptolemy's Canon, which rests on the firm basis of astronomical calculations, the Archbishop gives his own singular hypothesis every semblance of a paradox. It is likewise incompatible with physical probability. For Justin reports †, that Artaxerxes was,

* Josephus in particular asserts, that he was the son of Xerxes, and therefore could be no other than Artaxerxes Longimanus.

† L. iii. 1.

at the time of his father's death, a very young man, *admodum puer*; and Diodorus Siculus * repeats the same fact. He was born after his father came to the throne, for which reason his elder brothers were overlooked in the succession. Now, if the father reigned but 12 years, the son's age did not exceed 11. But at the time of the father's death, or very soon after, the son was married, and in the third year of his reign divorced his queen. Whereas Xerxes reigned 21 years, Artaxerxes ascended the throne at the age of 20. Thus the course of nature accords with history: the chronology of the Annals offers violence to both, and incurs the censure of absurdity.

No less controvertible is the authority of the Archbishop's postulate, than the conclusion he meant to establish. According to Thucydides the flight of Themistocles into Persia was immediately subsequent to the death of Xerxes †. Usher, in confirmation of his hypothesis, refers to the Chronicle of Eusebius, where the last year of the 76th Olympiad is said to have been the date of Themistocle's expedition into Persia. That however was the 13th of Xerxes. Diodorus Siculus brings it down to the 15th of the same reign. Xerxes

* L. xi.

† It is above suggested, that this author's testimony, as singular, is of doubtful credit. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, quotes it with approbation, though he owns that the far greater number of writers assigns an earlier date; and Plutarch relates, that Charon of Lampfacus agreed in opinion with Thucydides, though he rejects the authority of both.

H

therefore

therefore reigned more than twelve years; and whatever number, less than 21, be assumed, the objection, arising from the premature age of Artaxerxes, remains in full force. Dodwell, in his *Annals of Thucydides*, reprobates, as unchronological, the computation of his author, with respect to the arrival of Themistocles in Persia.

4. USHER's primary object, in this anticipated date of Artaxerxes's reign, was to give his scheme of the 70 prophetic weeks the semblance of historical accuracy. Suppose with him, that Artaxerxes ascended the throne of Persia in the 13th year from his father's accession, his 20th will coincide, in part, with the number of the Jul. Period 4260, the first of the 490 prophetic years. Of these two numbers the sum is 4750, or the fourth from the crucifixion, which was certainly the last of the 490. But if the real 20th of that reign were the true commencement of the prophetic term, the Messiah was cut off 13 years before its termination. On the whole, the arrangement of the *Annals*, in this instance, is a fallacious artifice of chronological empiricism. Let 41 years only be allowed for the reign of Artaxerxes, including the odd months of Artabanus, the younger Xerxes, and Sogdian;—and let 21 years full be allowed for the elder Xerxes, conformably to the unanimous reports of all the historians;—then from the date of Ezra's commission, on the first of Nisan, in the seventh of the same Artaxerxes, A. P. Jul. 4256, the interval thence to the third of Nisan 4746, is precisely 490 years 3 days.

5. As



5. As all the sabbatical years, and jubiles, historically recorded in Josephus, and the books of the Maccabees, are computed from the date of their restoration by Nehemiah *, in the 21st of Artaxerxes; every inquisitive reader, who would peruse the sacred history with discernment, has a right to be informed, whether Nehemiah observed the terms of the original institution, or introduced a new reckoning: if the latter, which of the two is the computation in the Annals?

For example: "When Herod and Sosius conducted the siege of Jerusalem, the inhabitants were reduced to extreme necessity from famine, that being a sabbatical year †." The Jewish historian defines the time by two notations of infallible certainty: 1. The consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, and the 185th Olympiad;—the former being the 717th year of the Varroian computation, A. M. 3972; and the first of the latter, coincident, about the time of the summer solstice, that very season, when the city was taken by storm. But that year, as a return of septenary rest, began with the time of the autumnal equinox in 3971. It is now enquired,

1. WHETHER Josephus computed that rest from its true date, the seventh year from the partition of the country in 2568? Compendious and decisive is this problem: for $3971 - 2568 = 1403$, which surplus, divided by 7, quotes 200 years of release, and the remainder denotes the third year of the then current

* Chap. x. 31.

† Josephus, Ant. xiv. 16. 1.

cycle. Evident it therefore is, that Josephus did not count from the primary source. Neither did the Archbishop, whose reckoning, from the seventh year after the passage over Jordan, excludes those six years of sowing and reaping, which the statute did not only permit, but enjoin. By this prochronism, one superfluous week of years is entered into the Annals. With every semblance of precision, however, the year of the siege is characterised as sabbatical. His original numbers, erroneously combined, imposed on himself, and his readers, a plausible chronological deception, in every subsequent criterion of time. By bringing the date of the Creation too low by four years, the numerical characters of this siege, with respect to the age of the world, are misplaced, 3967 being substituted for 3971; as in fixing the time of the first septenary cycle, 2560 was preferred to 2568. This involuntary fallacy wears every aspect of certainty. As it arises from the junction of incoherent numbers, let the four deficient years, in the age of the world, be replaced, $(3967 + 4 = 3971)$, and retain the Primate's date of the primary sabbatical year; an easy arithmetical operation will ascertain the source of the mistake. Thus $3971 - 2560 = 1411$, quotes 201 sabbatical cycles, with a surplus of four years, a fractional part of the current cycle, at the time when Herod besieged Jerusalem. The only remaining error is the addition of one superfluous week of years; and this is rectified by substituting 2568 for 2560. *Tantum series juncturaque pollet* †. The next enquiry is,

† Hor.

2. WHETHER

2. WHETHER all the sabbatical cycles subsequent to the re-establishment of the ordinance by Nehemiah, do proceed in a continuous series from this new term? It is previously requisite to ascertain the date of their restoration. One indispensable criterion of time is the accession of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and it has been shewn, that the hypothesis of Usher is exploded by the course of nature, and direct historical evidence. This reign must consequently be reckoned from the 21st of Xerxes, exclusively. Sir Isaac Newton, by an accumulation of chronological characters, fixes his demise to the end of winter A. M. 3544; suppose about the end of January. His murderer, Artabanus, having invaded the vacant throne, was slain after an usurpation of seven months. Thus is the commencement of Artaxerxes' reign brought down to September in that year, HENCE (that is, neither from the Hebrew ABIB, nor the Egyptian THOTH) do the sacred historians compute the succeeding years of this prince. For in the ninth Hebrew month, Chisleu, in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah was informed that the wall of Jerusalem had been broken down, and the gates burnt. Nisan, the first of the next Hebrew year, is characterised as in the 20th of the same reign. From these * and other unequivocal notations, Sir Isaac concludes, with his usual acuteness, that it began in the autumnal half year, between the fourth and ninth Hebrew months. But a chronological character, still more apposite and decisive, remains. Africanus informs us, that the 20th

* See Neh. i. 1. and ii. 1.

of Artaxerxes fell in with the fourth of the 83d Olympiad; and, therefore, his first year began a month or two months before the autumnal equinox *. The Olympic years were computed from the new moon before the summer solstice: consequently his 21st year commenced one month or two before the ensuing autumnal equinox.

THESE dates, thus defined, are happily subservient to the required discovery. In the 20th of Artaxerxes Nehemiah set out from Shushan, in Persia, for Jerusalem: and, in the 25th day of the 6th Hebrew month, Elul, was the city wall finished. The 21st of Artaxerxes was then begun. On the 15th of the seventh month was the feast of tabernacles observed with extraordinary solemnity. On the 24th was held a voluntary fast, spent in the reading of the law, in the confession of sins, and in framing the articles of a national reformation. One of these was an obligation formally ratified to "leave every seventh year, and the exaction of every debt." This is a new source of computation by the sabbatical cycles, commencing with the autumnal equinox A. M. 3565. It has been remarked, that the year in which Herod took Jerusalem, 3971, was sabbatical. If the less sum be taken from the greater, and the difference, 406, divided by seven, the result will be 58 septenary rests for the land, and release for servants. As (00) remains, that year was sabbatical, in virtue of the new regulation, in the 21st of Artaxerxes. But by the primitive term in the days

* Newton's Chronology, p. 354.

of Joshua, Jerusalem was besieged in the third year of a then current cycle.

IT may be asked, Why did Nehemiah deviate from the original series? It may be replied, that the true times of observing these periodical solemnities might have escaped the remembrance of that generation, after a lapse of 654 years, since the days of Samuel; for so long had years of rest and release gone into disuse.

BUT another reason is much more probable, and almost certain. Fourteen years, precisely, before this new regulation, had the 70 weeks of years begun. That every septenary combination might be signalized by the re-establishment of a sacred ordinance, too long neglected, and eminently conducive to the practice of national justice, mercy, and devotion, Nehemiah connected the sabbatical years with a famous circulating period in the oracles of prophecy. This double series of regulating measures, in computation, is decisive, if applied to the chronology of our Lord;—more particularly it defines, with infallible certainty, the duration of his ministry.

AT the commencement of the 30th jubile, from the days of Joshua, was he baptised about the time of the autumnal equinox: and at the end of the 70th week, which, by the regulations of Nehemiah was sabbatical, did he suffer on the cross, at the very time foretold by Daniel.

WERE it not for the injudicious expedient, to which the very respectable Metropolitan had recourse for correcting the well-known metachronism in the year of

the Dionysian era ; and the improper disposition of those chronological numbers, on which depends the truth of computation ; together with the fallacious dates, assigned to the sabbatical cycles originally defined by Moses, and at a very remote period, altered, with exquisite propriety, by Nehemiah ;—were it not for such egregious oversights, in the plan and execution of the ANNALS ;—the chronology of our Lord's life would have been the most intelligible, coherent, and perspicuous article, in the whole history of the Bible. But, as set forth to view in this otherwise masterly work of a first-rate genius, the subject is enveloped in darkness impenetrable ; and, on his principles, it never can acquire the attribute of credibility *.

IT

* In favour of the later writers on the HARMONY of the GOSPELS, it has liberally been observed, that they come nearer to the perfection of a just arrangement, than their predecessors could attain. To this praise the later CHRONOLOGERS have no claim. Not suspecting confusion or fallacy in the notations of Archbishop Usher; to reconcile his scheme with itself, with the computations recorded in the history and prophecies of the Old Testament, and with the correspondent characters of time in the writings of the Evangelists; they have laboured to extract light from obscurity, and order from confusion; but without effect; for the later writers on the chronology of the gospels exceed their predecessors in the absurdity of their determinations. Dr. Prideaux's scheme, which makes the 70th of Daniel's weeks coincident, and commensurate, with the ministry of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, is perfectly exact. One single criterion of time would have prevented the very possibility of all future mistakes. It required but a very moderate degree of precaution to suggest,
that

IT has been evinced that Usher misplaces the dates of the sabbatical years, both from the time of Joshua, and of Nehemiah; as also of the 70 prophetic weeks. Terms, so essential to the truth of reckoning, ought to be fixed with the utmost precision. Sir Isaac Newton, and other learned masters in sacred literature, having mistaken the series of septenary cycles, restored by Nehemiah, for that originally instituted by Moses *, it is requisite to exemplify computation from both epochs. Few are the explicit allusions, in the Hebrew scriptures, to the primitive series. Of these, three are selected.

1. "THIS shall be a sign unto thee" (Hezekiah);
"ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves,
and in the second year that which spring of the same;

that this 70th week began in the Hebrew month Abib, A. M. 4034, not 4029, (as in the Annals), and ended in the same month, A. M. 4041, not 4036. The absence of such precaution left a subject, formerly perplexed, still doubtful. Dr. Macnight adjusts, with tolerable exactness, the chronology of Christ's ministry to the history of that period; but, in some cases, proceeds with hesitation, in others without consistency, and, at last, concludes with an approach to certainty.

Some of his successors, in this line of investigation, have deviated widely, not only from truth, but even from probability. Bishops Pearce, Newcome, and Dr. Priestly, have presented their several hypotheses to the public, without imparting to their readers one spark of illumination.

* See Sir I. Newton's Observations on the Prophecies, p. 131, and other passages of that rather ingenious than accurate work.

and

and in the third year sow and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits *."

FROM the 13th verse of the 18th chapter it is evident, that, in the 14th of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came up against all the cities of Judah, and, no doubt, laid the country under exorbitant contributions, for the support of his numerous army. It is not here enquired, whether that was actually observed as a sabbatical year, for the reverse is certain; but whether it was such in rotation? The years of Hezekiah began with Abib, those of rest from tillage with Tizri. Computation must, therefore, proceed from the 13th of that reign, A. M. 3382: Hence subtract that year, which is the source of computation, 2568; the surplus, 814, which, divided by seven, quotes 116 years of rest for the land, and leaves two for the fractional part of a 117th cycle. That year, consequently, was not sabbatical by rotation. But God gave, for a signal to support the faith of Hezekiah, and his people, a gracious promise of an extraordinary supply, from the spontaneous fruits of the earth.

* 2 Kings, xix. 29.

* Without entering into a minute explication, how the produce of one year should suffice for three, be it remembered, that the Hebrew year had a double commencement, the CIVIL from the autumnal equinox, the SACRED from the opposite cardinal point. Both commencements are here specified, and either interval reckoned for a full year. The Israelites had the promise of immutable veracity, that the increase of every sixth year should be adequate to the consumption of 18 months.

2. IN the eighth year of Zedekiah, A. M. 3418, when the sovereign had made a covenant with all the people, that every man should proclaim liberty to his male and female servants; and, even after an actual dismissal, the princes recalled them into servitude, in the prospect of aid from the king of Egypt against Nebuchadnezzar, a prophet was sent to denounce the unavoidable captivity of Zedekiah, and the desolation of the city*. It is enquired, was that year sabbatical? Answer, It was the third after the past, and the fourth before the next septenary release. Though neither of the specified years concluded a cycle, the operations shew the times of the circulating repetitions.

3. IN the fourth of Joiakim began the 70 years captivity of Judah: "To fulfil the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate, she kept sabbath, to fulfil three score and ten years†."

HENCE it is certain, that 70 returns of years, sacred to rest and release, with the remission of debts, and the recovery of estates, prior to the fourth of Joiakim, had been successively neglected. The years of sowing and reaping, corresponding to 70 sabbaths of years, are 420: and $420 + 70 = 490$. From the second of that reign, A. M. 3401, which was sabbatical, deduct 490, the difference, 2911, fixes the first continual omission of those pious solemnities to the first of Saul.

It remains to be shewn, that all the sabbatical years, of which mention occurs in history, posterior to their

* Jer. xxxiv. 8—22.

† 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

restoration

restoration by Nehemiah, were computed by the new series.

It is not certain, whether the lands enjoyed a pause from cultivation, during the 21st of Artaxerxes. Every probability lies on the other side. The people (not having that article of reform in contemplation, before the reading of the law, on the several days while they were solemnizing the feast of tabernacles, in that very year and month, when that covenant of reformation was ratified) might not be provided with the means of returning the money due upon mortgaged inheritances. This circumstance, alone, might induce the princes of tribes to defer the sabbatical solemnity, till six seasons of sowing and reaping should elapse. This permission was granted, after the partition of the land; and after the re-establishment of all these ordinances, the like indulgence might be expedient and necessary. But this concession, though admitted, does not affect the argument. For if the 28th of Artaxerxes were the first actual year of rest, release, and redemption of hereditary property, yet still the 21st is the true source of computation.

ANOTHER preliminary remark, it is proper to suggest. The septenary cycles were never, perhaps, more regularly observed in the days of the Judges, than in the times subsequent to the administration of Nehemiah. Ordinances so inseparably connected with humanity, justice, religion, and secular interest, would, on this last account alone, though all the other motives had a less powerful influence, be most punctually observed.

That

New Series of SABBATICAL YEARS. 109

That people was no sooner subject to a foreign yoke than put under tribute. In a state of unavoidable dependence, exemption from the taxes of the seventh year, the Jews always implored, and, for any thing now known, it was ever granted, as an equitable indulgence. A few instances, in the chronological order, are subjoined.

	A. M.
Sabbatical cycles restored, 21st Artaxerxes	3565
First rest for the land, and release of servants	7 3572
Alexander remitted the tribute of the seventh year, Josephus, Ant. xi. 8. 5.	} 105 3677
Bethsura surrendered for want of store in the seventh year, 1 Maccab. vi. 49. Ant. xii. 95.	} 168 3845
Siege of Beth Dagon continued to the year of rest, Ant. xiii. 8. 1. War. i. 1. 14.	} 28 3872
In a famine of the seventh year Herod took Jerusalem, Ant. xiv. 16. 2. & xv. 1. 2.	} 98 3971
A famine in the seventh year, because the seed of the foregoing season perished in the soil, Ant. xv. 16. 1.	} 14 3985
Year of the crucifixion	- - 56 4041

THESE computations, constructed on true chronological principles, give to the postulates, above assumed, all the certainty of infallible self evident axioms. As such they are here repeated.

1. ARCHBISHOP Usher unhappily antedated the septenary cycles, in either series, the one by seven, the other by nine years, which entirely defeats the suberviency of both to historical arrangement.

2. BY a rash, unjustifiable abbreviation of one reign, and the proportional enlargement of another, historical order is violated in favour of a hypothesis, visionary, fallacious, and repugnant to the evidence of every authentic record. This artful and arbitrary transposition of numbers brings the beginning of the famous 70 weeks nine years lower than their true epoch; and this sum protracts the currency of these weeks as much beyond that point in historical time, where, by every fair mode of reckoning, they ought to end. If four years taken from the date of the creation be restored, the metachronism will amount to 17 years. The result disjoins the natural connection which subsists between the oracles of prophecy and the report of history. From different terms may this memorable prophetic period be computed, in the descending series. But with the crucifixion it must end. Allow 21 years for the reign of Xerxes, and 41 for that of his son, Longimanus, the artificial confusion in the Annals, for this period, disappears, and every obstruction to a just arrangement in the ascending series is removed. Easy and certain is the operation. From 4041 deduct 490, the remainder, 3551, denotes the seventh of Artaxerxes, as before.

3. SIR Isaac Newton and others, taking it for granted that the sabbatical years of Nehemiah were a continuation of the series begun by Joshua, have inadvertently combined two eminent chronological characters, which if kept distinct, (as every historical criterion of those times requires), would have been sufficient
either

either to prevent or correct mistakes in the chronology of our Lord's life and ministry. Usher had involved the subject in such perplexity and confusion as to defeat the primary uses and ends of all the septenary periods, whether measured by weeks of days, or of years. Sir Isaac Newton, at a venture, assumed the postulate, that a sabbatical year characterised that of the crucifixion, without the least apprehension, that such years were computed from two different sources.

THE 70 weeks of Daniel begin and end in Abib, or Nisan, of the sacred Hebrew year. This criterion is common to each part of the entire number, and consequently to the 70th or last week. The prophet had no retrospect to the original ordinance concerning periodical rests for the land, release for bond servants, remission of debts, &c. ;—usages which had become obsolete almost six centuries before his time. Nothing less. Of his commission it was the ultimate object to define, by certain notes of number, a point in remote futurity, when a notable personage, often foretold by former prophets, and then first denominated THE MESSIAH, *should be cut off, but not for himself*, as the signal of a momentous revolution soon after to succeed.

NATURAL it is to conjecture, that a prediction of events, so grand and awful, would rouse the attention of every inquisitive mind, to unfold the mystical terms in which it was delivered, and, if possible to ascertain the time of its completion.

FROM the first year of Darius the Mede, A. M. 3471, when this prophecy was emitted, to the seventh of Longimanus,

Longimanus, in 3551, when the first of the 70 weeks began, is an interval of 80 years. From the month Abib, in the year last mentioned, count forward $13\frac{1}{2}$ years, the reckoning is continued to Tizri, in the 21st of the same Longimanus;—that very month, when Nehemiah, with the concurrence of the princes, priests, Levites, and the collective body of the people, entered into a curse, and into an oath, that they would leave the seventh year, and the exaction of every debt *. Thus is the coincidence of the last year of the second prophetic week, with the first sabbatical year, in the series from Nehemiah, demonstrated. It has been already shewn, that every sabbatical year, in the original series, falls in the center of a prophetic week from the date of Ezra's commission. According to this rule the seventh of the original series must likewise be the fourth of the 70th week, from the 21st of Artaxerxes. In the first year of this week John the Baptist began his ministry, in the month Abib, A. M. 4034. Add $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, the reckoning terminates in Tizri 4038. About the time of the vernal equinox Jesus was baptised, and soon after opened his commission to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, in the synagogue at Nazareth. Prolong the computation downward, from that cardinal point, $3\frac{1}{2}$ years more, the crucifixion is fixed by infallible chronological characters to the beginning of Abib, 4041: the latter part of which year was, by the new series, sabbatical.

* Neh. x. 29—31.

To prevent the censure of audacious presumption, in controverting the authority, not only of archbishop Usher, but of Sir Isaac Newton, and of still more recent writers, eminent in the republic of letters, the author judged it necessary to elucidate the chronology and history of our Lord's ministry, and that of his forerunner, by evidences derived from genuine records. The result is, that the last prophetic week, divided into two equal portions, comprehends and exhausts the duration of both, in exact harmony with the prophecies of Daniel, the testimony of the Evangelists, and the repetitions of the three famous septenary cycles, that of natural days from the creation, of astronomical years from the division of Canaan, and also from the 21st of Artaxerxes, rightly computed. To ascertain the true sources of these circulating periods, has been a work of labour and patience. But no merit is claimed from the discovery. That the ministry of John the Baptist, and of Jesus Christ, was circumscribed within the limits of seven years, has, from time immemorial, been the uniform belief of plain unlettered Christians, and of the learned before the reception of an erroneous chronology, which the accurate arrangements of Dr. Prideaux have not been sufficient to explode. The subject is now brought to the test of strict calculation, and submitted to the tribunal of impartial criticism.

FROM Sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Joseph Priestly, a great majority of the writers, on the chronology of the Evangelists, has incurred the imputation of adopt-

ing ambiguous principles, and of resting in absurd conclusions *. They generally compute by the Dionysian era, and the Catonian years of Rome; and so compress, within too scanty limits, the interval from our Lord's nativity to his passion. Thus the ministry, either of Christ or of John, or of both, is, without necessity, and contrary to historical evidence, abridged. But if seven years be allowed for both, and this period brought down to April A.M. 4041, coincident with the number of the Jul. Per. 4746, every difficulty is surmounted, consistently with every criterion of time.

* An eminent commentator on the Gospels, contemporary with both and inferior to neither in Biblical criticism, Dr. Pearce, late bishop of Rochester, incurs this censure of adopting contracted epochs, and deficient measures. Dodwell had framed the Chronology of Vell. Paterculus to an agreement with Varro's Computation, which makes the first Julian year run parallel with 709, and the 78th with 786. The Right Reverend Critic, with a rash, unskilful hand, accommodated the Chronology of Josephus and Paterculus to the Catonian scheme, which retrenches two years from the Varronian. According to him Christ was born in the 41st Julian year, and suffered in the 74th;—not as the truth of computation requires;—in the 40th and 77th.—Thus is the first, and consequently the 15th of Tiberius, anticipated by two years; the crucifixion by no less than five: and the result is, that the 70th and last prophetic week began with the month Abib, about the middle of which the Messiah was cut off. Thus, in effect, the ministry both of Christ and his forerunner is anticipated, the clear interpretation of a very coherent prophecy distorted, the whole computation by sabbatical terms set aside, and the most consistent history ever written by the pen of man, involved in a deep gloom of artificial darkness.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Chronology of the Greek Empire.

THIS monarchy, founded by Alexander of Macedon, rose into political importance on the ruins of the Persian. He is the mighty king, of whom it had been foretold, (257 years before the event), "that he should stand up, rule with great dominion, and do according to his will *." The supremacy of Providence is wonderfully displayed, in overruling the wills of princes, and in rendering their enterprises subservient to the accomplishment of its gracious designs, even when the means employed seem to human wisdom inadequate, or of a contrary tendency.

"THIS kingdom is compared to a leopard to signify its fierceness. Its four heads and four wings signify, that it should be divided into four kingdoms; for it continued in a monarchical form, during the reign of Alexander, of his brother Aridæus, and of his young sons, Alexander and Hercules; and then brake into four kingdoms, by the governors of provinces putting crowns on their own heads, reigning over their own provinces;—~~Cassander~~ Cassander over Macedon,

* Dan. xi. 3.

Greece, and Epirus;—Lyfimachus over Thrace and Bithynia;—Ptolemy over Egypt, Arabia, Cælefyria, and Palestine;—and Seleucus over Syria*.”

SHORT was the duration of the monarchy; shorter still that of the four kingdoms. Each of the self-created sovereigns vainly affected to be Alexander; and, not content to preside over a part of his dominions, strove to acquire the whole. Confederacies, ratified without sincerity, and suspicions which artifice could not conceal, prompted the antagonists to hostile measures. Hence a collision of contrary forces, fatal to all the parties, of whom none could be satisfied with any thing less than universal dominion. After a short space of about 19 years from the subversion of the Persian Empire, the result of discordant counsels, and of arms polluted with the blood of millions, was the formation of two independent principalities: Syria, where Seleucus erected his throne;—and Egypt, of which Ptolemy Soter retained possession.

IN the Books of the Maccabees these two principalities have one common title, The KINGDOM of the GREEKS: Its name is, from one of the sovereigns, called the era of the Seleucidæ. By it both these authors compute, the one from the 12th, the other from the 13th, after the demise of Alexander †.

* Sir I. Newton on the Prophecies, p. 29.

† Dr. Prideaux explains the reason of this variation in reckoning by the era of Seleucus, and exemplifies it in different dates assigned by the two authors for the same event. See Connex. Ann. 312.

IN the subsequent schemes of historical transactions, with their dates, of coexistent magistracies, and of chronological numbers, it was found, that the page was too narrow to admit the titles of several articles; much less the triple column of numerical notations in reckoning. The years of the Jul. Period, and those before the Dionysian era, are, for these reasons, unavoidably superseded, though they are expressed for the first and last years of each scheme.

Scheme I.

HISTORICAL events from the RISE of the GREEK EMPIRE, A. P. J. 4383. Before A. D. 1330, and A. M. 3678.

Alexander dies in the 18th of Jaddua's pontificate	3685
Jaddua dies in the 2d of Philip Aridæus	3687
Aridæus dies in the 5th of Onias the H. Priest	3692
Alexander Ægus deposed	3696
Slain, with his mother Roxane, by Cassander	3699
The Pentateuch translated into Greek at Alexandria	3732
Pyrrhus expelled Italy	3735
Hannibal defeats Flaminius at the Thrasymenus	3792
Scipio conquers Hannibal at Zama	3807
Antiochus, the Great, routed at Thermopylæ	3818
Carthage and Corinth desolated by the Romans	3863
Syria becomes a Roman province	3944
Pompey takes Jerusalem	3946
Its walls repaired	3965
Herod again takes the city	3972
Egypt a Roman province, and the Greek Empire unhinged	3978

THIS compendious selection of notable incidents, taken promiscuously from the history of the Jews, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans, is a specimen of the various materials whence the times of events may be defined by a diversity of national eras. The computation is thus brought down to A. P. J. 4683, or the 30th before the Dionysian era of our Lord's nativity.

OF this third prophetic monarchy Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon furnishes the inquisitive student with an authentic chronicle *. Even Ptolemy's exquisite collection betrays some instances of singularity in reckoning, though they seldom involve error. Alexander Ægus was dethroned in the fourth of his reign, and slain in the seventh; yet the canon continues his government to the eighth year of the Seleucidan era, and defers to the ninth the accession of Ptolemy Soter, to whom is assigned a reign of 20 years. Evident is the impropriety of extending the duration and honours of royalty, after the term of a sovereign's degradation; much more, beyond the period of natural life. This over-

* Its best edition in English is that by Prideaux, in his Chronological tables, where the years of Nabonnassar are connected with the numbers of the Julian period. With respect to the names of the kings, the series of succession, and the length of reigns, extremely inaccurate are the arrangements of the Abbé Dufrenoy; a writer, who has the merit of comprising, in a very narrow compass, an immense repository of erudition in chronological antiquities. This is not the only period which exemplifies his negligence or credulity. But it may seem invidious to censure an individual, in a matter which affects many.

fight is effectually rectified by assigning to Soter a reign of 28 years, commencing from the date of the era.

It has already been observed, that Josephus, the only author whose works, still extant, contain a full history of the Jewish nation, is much more accurate in his account of the high priests since the return from Chaldeæ, than in former times. His registers are not always complete, or his notations perfectly exact. In such cases, however, his deficiencies may be supplied, and his mistakes corrected, from genuine sources of information, here and there dispersed in other fragments of sacred antiquity, or in partial catalogues, among the writings of the Christian fathers.

"THE high priests of Josadac's posterity were 15, under a popular government, during the space of 414 years *."

As to the number of pontiffs, the author is exact. But the period of their administration did not exceed 370.

IN the same passage, the author enumerates, by name, nine pontiffs from Menelaus to Antigonus, all (except Menelaus) of the Asmonean family. The real number is ten; but perhaps Alexandra, as a queen, was, on account of her sex, excluded from the priesthood; for, in this period, the chief magistracy was sometimes united with the sacred character, and sometimes kept distinct.

THE duration of the Asmonean period was about 130 years. Josephus is peculiarly attentive to mark the

* Ant. xx. 10. 1.

years of vacancy in the pontificate, the length of incumbencies, and what high priests retained their dignities for life, were superseded, or held the office as colleagues :—notations of signal use in reckoning which, without the least danger of fallacy, exhibit every desirable criterion of truth. Under the direction of guides, uninspired indeed, yet almost infallible, a candid and docile spirit needs no extraordinary degree, either of sagacity or labour, to combine the several links in this part of the great chronological chain.

THE report of Ptolemy, Josephus, the two writers of the Maccabees, &c. is but human testimony ; but it is testimony strongly confirmed by the evidence both of prophecy and history ;—prophecy emitted, and history written, by divine inspiration. This portion of the sacred chronology is comprehended in the 70 weeks, of which the termination is fixed by an infallible character of time. To this sure word of prophecy, the preachers and disciples of the gospel, at its first publication, giving good heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, acquired the full assurance, that the first coming of Christ, in the manner, and at the time foretold, was then past. Hence the apostle, reasoning with equal light and force of argument, concludes the infallible certainty of his second coming. The particular inference deducible from these principles, and applied to the present subject, is, that if the whole period of the 70 weeks be clearly elucidated by a luminous body of evidence, from the volumes both of prophecy
and

and history, this one part of the same period can lie under no suspicion of uncertainty or imposture.

Scheme II.

Coexistent magistracies in the GREEK EMPIRE, set in juxtaposition with the princes, kings, and priests, of the JEWS, from the ERA of SELEUCUS.

I. Syria.	II. Egypt.	III. Judah.	A.M.
Seleucus Nicanor 33	Ptolemy Soter 28	Onias I. dies 12	3708
Antiochus Soter 19	Ptol. Philadelphus 38	Simon the Just 21	3717
Ant. Theus 15		Eleazar 36	3732
Sel. Callinicus 20	Ptol. Euergetes 25	Manasseh 62	3758
Sel. Ceraunus 3	Ptol. Philopator 17	Onias II. 95	3791
Ant. Magnus 36	Ptol. Epiphanes 24	Simon II. 117	3813
Sel. Philopator 11	Ptol. Philometor 35	Onias III. 137	3833
Ant. Epiphanes 11		Jafon 140	3836
Ant. Eupator 2		Mehelaus 146	3842
Demetrius Soter 12	Ptol. Physcon 29	Jud. Maccabeus 152	3848
Alex. Balas 5		Jonathan 169	3865
Dem. Nicator 20	Ptol. Lathyrus 36	Simon II. 177	3873
& Ant. Sidetes 2		J. Hyrcanus 206	3902
Alex. Zebina 2		Aristobulus 207	3903
Ant. Grypus 27	Alexander 15	Alex. Jannæus 234	3930
Seleucus 4	Ptol. Aulctes 14	Alexandra 243	3939
Philip 9	Cleopatra 21	Aristobulus 249	3945
Tigranes 18		Hyrcanus 272	3968
		Antigonus 275	3971
		Herod 282	3978

17)247(14 y. 6 m. 11)282(25 y. 7 m. 18)282(15 y. 7 m.

SHOULD this combination of names and numbers appear, at first view, less perspicuous than concise, a few remarks for illustration are subjoined.

1. IN the longer reigns and pontificates, some part, at least, of one prince's prefecture is coexistent with that of the other two; but not always in those of the shortest duration. Such variations are of little moment.

2. THE

2. THE names of the kings in the first and second columns, are expressed nearly about the time of their accession, which is computed, rather from the incumbency of the high priest, mentioned in the same horizontal line, than from the specified year of the world. The column of numbers, annexed to that of the names, denotes the length of reigns.

3. IN the register of the princes, &c. in Judah, the numbers, correspondent to their several names, denote the years of Seleucus, (from the date of that era), coincident with the termination of their respective magistracies, and in connexion with the then current years of the world.

4. THE sum of the reigns in Egypt, 282, being precisely equal to the pontificates, reigns, &c. in Judah, demonstrates the true quantity of the interval from the first of the Seleucidan epoch to the dissolution of the Greek Empire. Though the chronology is derived from different sources, the reports are in unison. The reduction of Syria happened in the 247th of the era, 35 years before the rise of the Roman Empire; $282 - 247 = 35$.

5. THE exact number of the governors, in their separate prefectures, may, without falsifying the registers, be reduced. For example; Demetrius Nicator, after a reign of five years in Syria, was removed, and Antiochus Sidetes set on the throne, who, after an usurpation of ten years, was degraded. Demetrius, being restored, held the sovereignty five years more. The sum of their reigns was 20, as in the schème.

But

But Sidetes, being excluded, the kings are 17; by which number, if 247 be divided, the common measure is 14 years 6 months.

ONIAS III. wore the mitre 24 years; but was supplanted by Jason, and he, in his turn, by Menelaus; for which reason four years are, in the scheme, retrenched from the incumbency of Onias. The first pontiff of this name had been invested with the primacy nine years before the era of Seleucus; and Herod reigned 27 after the reduction of Egypt. Truth in computation permits, in such cases, the omission either of Onias or Herod. Let him, with the usurper Jason, be expunged from the register, for this period, 18 successive magistracies remain; by 18 divide 282, the quotient assigns to each 15 years 7 months.

It is to be noted, that the 11 coexistent reigns in Egypt were, one with another, 25 years 7 months. If this common quantity of separate reigns in Egypt, be compared with that in Syria and Judah, for the same space of time, (nearly so at least), the result may be admitted, as a confirmation of Sir Isaac Newton's postulate, that the common medium of reigns, since the abbreviated duration of natural life, does not much exceed 19½, or 20 years.

Seventh Age, of the World.

*From the Battle at Actium to the Demise of Tiberius Nero
Cæsar.*

C H A P. 1.

GENERAL REMARKS *on the* CHRONOLOGY *of this*
PERIOD.

TO the 30th year before the Dionysian era have the accounts of times, and the fates of empires, been brought down, from periods unknown, fabulous, and historical, as characterised by the most illuminated SAGES among the GENTILES. Moses, the Prophets, and Evangelists, make no such distinctions. Without the least hesitation, they speak decisively of events in past or future duration, from the full belief that the subjects of their reports were events which had, or most certainly would, come to pass. The sacred writings are a promiscuous collection of prophecies sealed up to the time of their completion, and of histories authenticating, with a wonderful precision of places, times, persons, and other circumstances, their actual accomplishment.

THIS seventh age of historical time was, in many respects, much more remarkable than all those before
or

or since. In no period was a more numerous train of very important oracles fulfilled; and no former age, at least, produced more accomplished historians to transmit (many of them without explicit knowledge of providential predetermination) the stupendous events which these oracles had prefigured.

It is here noted, without censure, that Usher, and most, if not all, former Chronologers, date this Seventh age from the vulgar year of our Lord's nativity. But may it not, with equal propriety, be computed from the origin of the Roman empire, which was coeval with the introduction of the gospel economy, and so characterised in the prophetic volumes? "I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible;—diverse from all the other beasts;—and behold, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days;—and there was given him dominion and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion," &c.* With no mean apparatus of prophetic imagery are the former empires described, prior to their existence, in a kind of orderly procession, and distinguished by their peculiar attributes. This fourth is exhibited as an object of grandeur and terror, awful in itself as a whole, multitudinous in its parts, and diverse from all kingdoms. With these characteristics is contrasted, in the spirit of true sublimity, a co-existent dominion, supreme, boundless, everlasting. No signs concomi-

* Dan. vii. 7—14.

tant, similar, and of equal magnificence, are specified in the records of prophecy and history, at the rise of any preceding empire.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, and Jesus of Nazareth, were contemporary, and born within the limits of the Roman dominions. Before the birth of either, Syria had been added to the then extensive conquests of that enterprising people (a nation of heroes); and Palestine though under the jurisdiction of a nominal and vicarious king, was an appendage of the Syrian prefecture. Both these personages founded a kingdom, with each of which has been connected the criterion of universality. About the time of their nativity very sanguine, and very general expectations prevailed of some one mighty potentate shortly to appear, whose dominion should be wide as the universe. Whether these expectations rose from immemorial tradition, or from the Greek version of the Hebrew prophecies, which, for almost three centuries before, had been circulated wherever that language was understood, is uncertain. One circumstance, however, must not be omitted. These personages were no sooner born, than the character of universal monarch was applied to both.

“ THE day Augustus was born, while the senate was warmly debating the subject of Cataline’s plot, his father Octavius, on account of the state of his family, came into the court at a late hour. It is a notorious fact, that P. Nigidius, having learned the reason of the delay, and the hour of the young prince’s nativity, declared,
that

that the world had now got a new sovereign."—
 "Jul. Marathus relates, that a few months before his birth, a strange incident, at Rome, presaged, that nature was then about to bring forth a king for the Roman people. Alarmed with the apprehension of restored monarchy, the senate passed a decree, that no man-child, born that year, should be preserved. Those members, who suspected that this sanguinary resolution might affect their own families, prevented its registration in the treasury, without which form it could not acquire the force of a law †."

THESE quotations are not produced to confirm the veracity of the astrologers. They, however, authenticate the opinions every where entertained in that age. The Romans and Jews considered the phrases *Terrarum orbis*, and *Πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη*, as equivalent to the whole habitable world.

THAT the like expectations, at the same time, were impatiently cherished among the Jews and Samaritans,

† Quo natus est die, cum de Catalinæ conjuratione ageretur in curiâ, et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius adfuisset, nota ac vulgata res est, P. Nigidium compertâ moræ causâ, ut horam quoque partûs acceperit, adfirmasse, DOMINUM terrarum orbi natum. — *Et paulo superius*; — Auctor est Jul. Marathus, ante paucos menses quam nasceretur, prodigium factum Romæ publicè, quo denunciabatur regem populo Romano naturam parturire: senatum exterritum censuisse nequis anno illo genitus educaretur: eos, qui gravidas uxores haberent, quæ ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne S. C. ad ætarium deferretur. Suet. August. cap. 94.

is evident, from the surface of almost every page of the four gospels. Nay, certain sages, instructed either by tradition, or the sacred oracles, in the faith of a favour for mankind at large, were, at length, conducted by a supernatural impulse, and an extraordinary meteor, from a remote country in the east to Jerusalem; where, enquiring the name of the place which should give birth to the king of the Jews? the answer given, in a convention of the priests or scribes of the people, was BETHLEHEM of Judea.

HEROD, an alien, who had derived the sovereignty from a foreign power, and, afraid of losing it, on account of many tyrannical encroachments on the liberties of the people, was vehemently troubled at the report. Stung with suspicion, jealousy, rage, and terror, he commanded an immediate massacre of all the male children in or about the vicinity of Bethlehem, from two years old and under. But, by the protection of ever wakeful Providence, Jesus was previously removed into Egypt.

THE gospel was first published within the limits of the Roman empire, then extending from Scythia to Numidia, and from the eastern boundary of Asia to the coasts of the Atlantic. Several centuries, under persecution from infidels of every class, had elapsed, before the Christians obtained a civil establishment. Rome then claimed first the prerogatives of a mother church, next of supremacy, afterwards of universality, lastly of infallibility. In process of time primitive truth was debased with heresies, a pure worship with idolatry and
superstition,

superstition, salutary discipline with absurd penances and civil authority was converted into an engine of destruction. In all these enormous corruptions is Rome Antichristian a genuine type of Rome Pagan.

IN the Augustan age, or the fulness of time, God sent forth his Son, invested with a human character, and a special commission to break down the partition wall between Jew and Gentile, and slay their mutual enmity; not to mention many other purposes of essential goodness. What if it should be evinced, that the Augustan age was likewise the fitness of time; nay even the fittest of all from the creation to the now expiring century.

1. *The Roman Government had lately acquired a new form.*

ITS primitive constitution, under seven sovereigns, was regal; under annual consuls, republican; under tribunes of the army and of the commons, and other occasional magistracies, partly popular and partly aristocratical. Last of all, it was an empire or monarchy, under one supreme ruler, invested with all the prerogatives of royalty, though without the title. This form of administration, as characterised in prophecy, restricts its commencement either to its first, or to its last period. The first cannot be the prophetic term. For one indispensable criterion of its essence is neither priority of order, nor co-existence, but succession to the other three. The first series of kings from Romulus

K

began

began about 148 years before the Babylonian empire. This arrangement is therefore an egregious prochronism.

FOR the like reasons is the republican system, in all its modifications, exploded. It was almost coeval with the Persian monarchy, and commensurate with that of Greece. The republican form is specifically different from the regal or imperial; and it is expressly affirmed, that identity of character should be an attribute common to all the four kingdoms, yet, admitting such marks of diversity as discriminate individuals of the same species. The last did actually commence immediately after the third had lost its political existence;—and it is added, immediately after it had acquired its true prophetic character, by emerging from its republican form.

2. *A reformed CALENDAR was necessary for the Truth of COMPUTATION.*

THE primitive year, as regulated by Romulus, was deficient in quantity, and inartificial in form. It was improved by his successor, Numa; but not on strict astronomical principles. Julius Cæsar, in the Varroian year 708, and the 45th before A. D. 1, by the advice of Sosigenes, an eminent Egyptian astronomer, reformed the national calendar, and procured its introduction over the whole empire. As exquisitely framed for popular use, the Julian year soon became the model in computation; and has, by immemorial prescription, been generally adopted in Europe. It exceeds the natural year by a few excrescent-fractional parts, which,
being

being a well known quantity, have been, and may be, without limitation of future time, reduced to the standard of nature, by periodical equations *.

IN the ANNALS of the Old and New Testament, have the chronology and history of no prior age been involved in a deeper gloom of artificial obscurity, than the short period of Christ's life and ministry. The most reverend author, it must be acknowledged, was in part misled, even by the most renowned historians of the Augustan and subsequent age; and it may be considered as a paradox, were it affirmed, that palpable chronological mistakes in Livy, Paternulus, Suetonius, &c. can be rectified no otherwise, than by indubitable characters of time in the Evangelist Luke. Such are, for instance, the date of the enrolment before the demise of Herod;—of the *actual* taxation under Cyrenius;—the 15th of Tiberius, compared with the commencement of the 70th prophetic week;—the age of Jesus in the first of John's ministry. With all these notations full in his view, the primate seems to have put a veil before his face, and thrown an impenetrable shade of darkness over some of the most luminous parts of the gospel history. Nor of it alone; for, by an arbitrary transposition of historical events, and a strange confusion of dates, the sabbatical cycles, prophetic periods, and national æras, are either rendered

* Of the Julian year, with respect to form, quantity, and mechanism, a more minute account is reserved for THE PRINCIPLES OF COMPUTATION, under the article, CIVIL YEAR.

useless, or acquire the character of fallacious guides, in the art of computation.

How are these anachronisms in the Roman histories, and in the venerable AUTHOR of the ANNALS, to be corrected? By two infallible dates:—the reformation of the Roman calendar;—and the demise of Tiberius Nero.

BUT can the quantity of this interval be ascertained? With the utmost ease. As each term is fixed by characters of equal certainty, it is a matter of pure indifference whether the intermediate years be computed in the retrograde or progressive line. Various and decisive are the chronological measures applicable to this short and memorable period. Two are selected, in perfect agreement with all the rest;—the Jul. Per. and the years of the Varronian epoch of Rome.

TIBERIUS Nero died A. P. J. 4747, coincident with U. C. 787. on the 16th March; and in the second Julian year, on the 15th March, was Julius Cæsar slain in the senate house, A. P. J. 4670, coincident with U. C. 710. Nero was born about the end of the first Julian year, and died in the currency of his 78th. Deduct now 4669, the year of Nero's birth, from 4747, the date of his death, the surplus, 78, is the age of Nero. Again $787 - 709 = 78$, the result of the two operations is the same; but a few odd months are included. If, however, the computation proceed from the death of the first Cæsar to that of Tiberius, the third, the interval is circumscribed within the limits of

77 full

77 full years, and one natural day. For $4747-4670=77$: and $787-710=77$.

TWO queries remain for discussion;—whether the historians of that and the succeeding age, have truly defined this interval;—and whether the Metropolitan's arrangement be consistent with itself, with the report of history, and with chronology.

“AUGUSTUS, the second Roman emperor, died, as Josephus testifies, after a reign of 57 years, six months, and two days*.” “Tiberius died after his predecessor 22 years, five months, and three days†.”

THE sum ($57.6.2+22.5.3=79\text{ y. }11\text{ m. }5\text{ d.}$) exceeds the true quantity by almost three years.

“AUGUSTUS, together with Antony and Lepidus, governed almost twelve years, and lastly by himself 54‡.” *44.* “Tiberius died in the 23d of his reign§.” “Tiberius ruled with arbitrary power 23 years nearly||.” After the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa, Augustus succeeded to that dignity. Add 56 years for this reign, and 23 for that of Tiberius, the sum is 79. But from the assassination of Julius to the consulate of Octavius, was a space of 18 months. Thus is the interval enlarged to 80 years six months**.—Easy it were to multiply authorities. But falsehood, though attested by a cloud of witnesses, does not change its nature. Can the source of this mistake be discovered? The deception is obvious, at first view. Josephus, and the author of the

* Ant. xviii. 2. 2. : and War. ii. 9. 1. † Ant. xviii. 6. 10.

‡ Suet. Octav. cap. 9. § Suet. Tib. cap. 73. 11.

|| Tacit. Annal. vi. 51. ** Dialog. de Claris Oratoribus.

Dialogue, have fallen into an egregious amplification. Suetonius assigns to Augustus a reign of almost 56; and Tacitus agrees with him, that the 23d of Tiberius was incomplete. Let the reign of each be computed from the death of Julius, the interval to that of Tiberius is precisely 77 years one day, as before. The error of the two historians last mentioned is two fold. They count two deficient years for complete; and admit, that a certain portion of the former reign was common to both emperors; yet make no abbreviation. It is to be shown, in its proper place, that the duration of the partnership in sovereignty was two years, and no more. Now as to Usher's computation.

ACCORDING to him Julius was slain A. P. J. 4670. This arrangement happily sets censure at defiance. But the reign of Tiberius is continued to 4750: the difference is 80, and the sum too much by three years. This latter number of the Julian period he connects with A. M. 4040*, and with A. D. 37, instead of 4042, and 34. Such is the fatality unavoidably resulting from his original combination of chronological numbers; and such the usefulness of a reformed Roman Calendar, at that particular time. The fitness of the time, appointed for the manifestation of Christ, might, from the considerations already set forth, be admitted. But,

* The year of the world, corresponding to A. P. J. 4750, ought to be 4045, which was the 38th from the true historical date of the nativity.

3. *As the Roman Empire, and the Christian Æra, were nearly coeval, it follows, that the first Century of both was the last Stage of the Hebrew Polity.*

ABSOLUTELY necessary it was, in virtue of many unequivocal notations in the oracles of prophecy, that the prophet, like unto Moses, should open his commission, before the close of the Jewish æconomy.

EQUALLY necessary it was, that the age of prefiguration should be of a considerable length, before the Glory of Israel, the Light of the Gentiles, and the Desire of all Nations, should be manifested to the world.

To the Israelites many signal marks of pre-eminence had been vouchsafed. "To them pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose were the fathers, and of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came*." Should the query be repeated, "What advantage then had the Jews?" the reply is now no less proper, than in the apostolical age, "Much every way; chiefly, because unto them were committed the oracles of God†." The line of the Messiah's extraction was limited to the progeny of Abraham by Isaac, and to the tribe of Judah by David. It had been foretold, that the greatest and last prophet to be sent to that people, should be raised up from among their brethren; and the infallible testimony of an Evangelist asserts, that the Word, made flesh, came unto his

* Rom. 9. 4.—6.

† Ch. iii. 2.

own. Had he appeared among any other people, his pretensions would have merited no credit. Or, had he appeared *to his own*, (*εις τα ἴδια*, his own peculiar brotherhood, a separate community, in their own land), one generation later, when the community was disbanded, the land occupied by aliens, and the temple (which the desire of all nations was to honour with his presence and ministry) covered with its own rubbish:—in that case, it would have been impossible to produce to the house of Israel, in a national establishment, the genuine evidences of his mission. The Israelites were the depositaries of those oracles which described his character, and, in a certain manner, anticipated his history. To them, in a state of dispersion, he could not have unfolded, from the writing of Moses and the prophets; from the psalms, and all the Hebrew scriptures; the things concerning himself. Galilee, and other parts of Palestine, are described as the theatre of his ministrations; and there it was requisite that he should appear a short time, *at least*, before the dissolution of the civil and religious polity.

THE time predetermined is both by the prophets and apostles characterised indefinitely as the **LATTER DAYS**. By which phrase is to be understood, not the consummation of things, but the last stage of the Jewish constitution;—the ultimate term beyond which that people should not exist, as a distinct and peculiar part of the human race, in a political capacity.

“GOD, who at sundry times, and in diverse manners, spake unto the fathers of the Jewish people by the prophets,

prophets, hath in these last days spoken to mankind by his Son." He having finished his personal ministry, committed the prosecution of his gracious purposes to certain chosen servants, whom he sent forth to preach the gospel to every creature. Essential wisdom and goodness had ordained, that the lost sheep of the house of Israel should have the first overtures of grace. This primary article of the commission was faithfully observed, during the eight subsequent years. But the house of Israel, still continuing to reject, as a collective body, the counsel of God against themselves, the apostles recollecting the terms of their original commission, "Ye shall be my witnesses, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in all Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth *," extended the call, without limitation, to the untutored Gentiles. "The Lord gave the word, great was the company of the preachers, and numerous were the converts, as the drops of dew from the womb of the morning." But even after the door of faith was thus opened for the Gentiles, a majority of the apostles devoted their labours to the benefit of those, who maintained the necessity of circumcision, and the inviolable obligation of all the Mosaical rites.

IN the mean time, free access being granted to the temple at Jerusalem, and to the synagogues established in every city, village, and corner of the widely-extended Roman empire; thither the apostles resorted on the seventh day of the Jewish week (Saturday), and on the

* Acts, i. 8.

first day to promiscuous assemblies, wherever met, opening and alleging that Jesus, whom they preached, was the Christ.

By a providential direction, and efficacious expedients, during the lapse of 37 years, were the temple and synagogues converted into nurseries for the infant Christian church. "Multitudes believed, both of Jews and Greeks." All that while the disciples of Moses, hardened, for the most part, in impenitence and incredulity, accompanied with an implacable spirit of persecution, rebelled against the light. At last the day of vengeance came. They were cast away, but not finally; and when the happy time arrives, what shall their restoration be, but life from the dead?

With the ministry of John commenced the kingdom of God. During that week was the covenant confirmed with MANY. At the end of the same week, all the carnal ordinances of Judaism were, as beggarly elements, nailed to the cross of Christ, and thenceforth became altogether unprofitable, even in their prefigurative virtue. Continued indeed for a determined time was their use; but they were superannuated. "A new covenant had made the first old, and that which was old decayed, and was ready to vanish away*."

THE text above recited, "God spake by the prophets in time past, at sundry times, and in diverse manners,

* Heb. viii. 13. General tradition fixes the date of this Epistle to the 7th year before the overthrow of the temple, and the desolation of Jerusalem, by Titus Vespasian. The text above quoted seems to be prophetic.

to the fathers," implies a long series of generations, under a preparatory discipline of prefigurative ordinances. What space of time was proper or sufficient for this sort of preparation, infinite wisdom could alone determine. Prophecies, being no less descriptive of an extraordinary character than types, neither the one test, nor the other, could have the full effect in authenticating a divine commission, before the lapse of at least a few generations and ages. Now, if Christ had appeared in the character of a suffering intercessor, immediately after the apostacy in Paradise, his pretensions could have been verified by no similar precedents from history, by no evidence from the records of prophetic oracles. Was it fit that Adam should be the executioner of his own Saviour? Was it possible that the Saviour, before the multiplication of the first family, could have martyrs, and the martyrs persecutors? But allow the appearance of this suffering intercessor to have been deferred to the first, second, or third generation; comparatively few must have been the witnesses. In an age of advanced population, when the arts of transmitting historical transactions with certainty to future times, and on a very conspicuous theatre, was Jesus of Nazareth executed, as a state criminal, as an impostor, as a blasphemer. The proofs of his innocence and veracity, were, in a very short time, no less convincing than his sufferings had been notorious; and the evidence, whence is inferred not only the merit of his character, but the injustice of his persecutors, never was, and never can be disproved. But had he suffered the same,

same, or the like things, in a very early stage of society, modern scepticism might have urged, with every feature of probability, "That these things were done in a corner, and that the whole was a cunningly devised fable:"—insinuations which the apostles very justly reprobate *.

THAT the appearance of the Messiah was delayed too long, the disputers of this world affirm with more plausibility than truth. The efficacy of his interposition began with the first, and will extend to the last generation of men. The growth of ignorance, licentious principles, and profligate manners, was gradual. Had Christ assumed the character of a reformer, before civil government and the light of philosophy had done their utmost, but without effect, for curing the inveterate corruption of the world, the use and necessity of such a reformer would not have been admitted. As an intermediate dispensation was the Mosaical institution introduced. "To what end served the law? It was added; because of transgressions," (predominant, and ever proceeding from evil to worse in the pagan world), "till the seed, to whom the promise was made, should come †." Had it not been for this intermediate scheme, corruption would have become, in the awful progress of degeneracy, universal, total, incurable. In this case, the promised seed must have come, without the harmonious evidence arising from history, prefiguration, and prophecy.

* Acts. xxii. 26. 2 Pet. i. 16.

† Gal. iii. 19.

IT has been shown, that any age, prior to the law of Moses, or subsequent to the dispersion of the Jews, would have been neither proper nor seasonable for the appearance of Jesus Christ in the human nature; and that no other could have these two indispensable characters,—a FITNESS and a FULNESS of the time, than that in which he did actually authenticate his divine mission*.

THESE general remarks naturally introduce the more special and determinate notations, in the evangelical history of Christ's life and ministry.

1. JESUS of Nazareth was born in the life-time of Herod the great, nominal king of Judea, and but a short space before his demise: and

2. ABOUT the time of an enrolment at Bethlehem, in virtue of a decree, in order to a taxation, by Augustus Cæsar, the Roman emperor.

3. AT twelve years of age he reasoned with the doctors in the temple, at the time of a passover.

4. THE 30th year of his natural life was coincident with the 15th of Tiberius Nero, and with the first of John the Baptist's ministry.

* The terms *soon* and *late* are relative. If the duration of the world should be prolonged four millions of years, and the Old and New Testament scriptures, in the original tongues, which are exact counterparts, be transmitted to that remote period, the truth of divine revelation would not be impaired. But the objection taken from the late introduction of the Gospel would vanish. For the transactions of A. M. 4000, would be referred to the very infancy of time.

5. ABOUT

5. ABOUT the time of the autumnal equinox, when precisely 34 years old, he was baptised.

6. His ministry of three years and six months expired with the crucifixion, in the 37th of his age.

ALL these events are comprehended in the reigns of Herod, Augustus, and Tiberius, as above *.

* " The edict for an enrolment from Augustus was wisely ordered by divine Providence, not only to determine the time of Christ's nativity, but also his tribe and family; both which were ascertained by the authentic records of two nations: the genealogies of the Jews, which were preserved with great exactness; and the archives of the Roman empire, to which the first apologists for Christianity made frequent appeals."—Waite's Gosp. Hist. p. 17.

" Some of the ancient apologists referred to the Acts of P. Pilate, and the account given by him to Tiberius, concerning our Saviour. Such appeals, unsupported by visible and notorious facts, would certainly have been of fatal consequence to Christianity. The Acts themselves, or very authentic copies of them, could as easily be produced as they were readily quoted. The Acts of Pilate were called in question. But though nothing of that kind be now in the world, yet that such genuine Acts were once in being is not reasonably to be doubted. For it appears from Eusebius, that certain false and spurious Acts were set about to sink the credit of the true. Epiphanius mentions some appeals made by heretics to these Acts of Pilate."—Ditton on the Resurrection, p. 301.

C H A P. II.

CHRONOLOGY of HEROD'S *Life*.

AN account of the TIMES and revolutions of empires, has been brought down to the 30th year before the Dionysian æra. A few of those explicit, and infallible chronological characters, which fix the true epoch of this seventh age, with the dates of those stupendous occurrences which signalised its commencement, and serve to arrange the history of the first 64 years, remain for investigation. With the history of three contemporary princes, Herod, Octavianus Augustus, and Tiberius Nero, is that of our Lord's birth, baptism, ministry, and crucifixion, inseparably connected. Of each in order.

I. HEROD'S *Birth*.

JOSEPHUS reports in two passages, not without an apparent variation in the number, that Herod died about the 70th year of his age, or almost 70 *. By both notations his 70th year was begun. It is afterwards to

* Ant. xvii. 8. 1. and War. i. 33. 1.

750.

be shewn, that he died in the spring of the Varronian year 710, A. M. 4005, and of the Jul. Per. 4710. Hence deduct 70, the difference 4640 is the date of his birth. Usher, and after him Prideaux, bring it lower by two years, but neither assigns a reason for rejecting the authority of Josephus.

2. *Made Governor of Galilee.*

“ANTIPATER made his eldest son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem and its precincts; to Herod, then a very young man of 15, he committed the administration of Galilee*.” Usher and Prideaux, on the authority of Casaubon, correct this notation by substituting 25. But both these great men, having mistaken the year of Herod’s birth, ought to have marked the number 27. The prudence, experience, and spirit, which he displayed at his entrance on that arduous province, did great honour to his abilities and years. The Varronian year 707 is the true date of this his first promotion.

3. *Different Dates of his Reign.*

IN 714 was he created king of Judea by a deed of the Roman senate. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, claiming the right of inheritance and possession, disputed his title by an appeal to the sword; and after an ineffectual opposition, with inferior force, was overcome, taken prisoner, and tragically executed, in 717.

* Josephus, Ant. xiv. 9. 2.

Herod

Herod thenceforth reigned without a competitor, and his accession is reckoned by both terms.

4. Rebuilds the Temple.

As an allusion to this date occurs in the gospel history, in connexion with a certain year of our Lord's ministry, it merits regard, as a chronological character. "Forty and six years was the temple in building *." By every criterion of time this conference with the Jews refers to the first year of Christ's ministry, a short time, perhaps, a few months, after the first Passover. Josephus assigns two dates for this great and expensive undertaking.

"In the 18th of his reign, Herod projected a very great work,—the rebuilding of the temple; and suspecting that the Jews, so far from contributing to the cost, would not consent to his taking on himself the whole charges, called together an assembly of the people, to whom he signified his resolution. They apprehending, that were the old edifice once demolished, he might either change his mind, or, having begun the new structure, should not be able to finish, strongly remonstrated. To convince them of his sincerity, Herod told them, that he should not pull down the fabric, till all things were ready for the new building. He accordingly provided 1000 waggons, and employed 10,000 of the most skilful artificers, stone-cutters, carpenters, &c. for preparing the materials, as soon as

* John, ii. 20.

they could be brought to the spot. Convinced of his sincerity, the people approved with cheerfulness an overture so beneficial to themselves, and honourable to their sovereign*.”

IN another passage † a different date is expressed : “ In the 15th year of his reign Herod rebuilt the temple.” Which of the notations is to be preferred ? It is scarcely probable, that the historian would compute Herod’s reign from the decree of the senate ; for the Jews accounted him an usurper during the life of Antigonus. But, as in several parts of his works, Josephus counts by either reckoning indifferently, sometimes distinguishes the one from the other by mentioning both, and always states three years for the intermediate space, let his specified numbers be fairly examined, and a self-consistent inference deduced.

THAT the arrangements of this very eminent historian be not rashly dismissed from the tribunal of impartial criticism, two previous enquiries are equitable ; first, What is the usual mode of reckoning in similar cases ? and next, What might be the point which the Jews, in their arguing with our Lord, meant to establish ?

FIRST, from computations in the retrograde series, the passing year, especially about the time of its commencement, is, as the source of reckoning, excluded. It has been remarked, that the Jews, in the first year of our Lord’s ministry, and some short time after the Passover, (solemnized, according to Varro, A. U. C. 783.), told

* Ant. xv. II. I.

† War, i. 27. I.

him, that the temple had been then 46 years in building, as our publick version renders their words. In this view the first of the 46 years is included in 783. The first year in the retrograde or ascending series was, consequently, 782.

SECONDLY, the meaning of the Jews was rather to amplify than abbreviate the number. This is the purport of their argument : " This temple employed many hands, during the lapse of 46 years ;—10,000 stone-cutters and carpenters, not to speak of other workmen in preparing the materials, before the foundation was laid :—besides double, triple, or 20 times that number in rearing this immense pile ;—and art thou able, by thine own single strength, to demolish the whole in three days ?

SUCH is the presumptive result of the argument, according to the sentiments of our Lord's antagonists. Its agreement, or incongruity with the notations of Josephus, is now to be examined : and for this end the scheme stands as below, for the two terms of Herod's reign.

SOURCE of retrograde computation for the foundation of Herod's temple.

The 46th year ends, } 782		The 46th year ends, } 782	
A. U. C.		A. U. C.	
Deduct	- - 46	Deduct	- - 46
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	736		736
Decree of the Senate	714	Death of Antigonus	717
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Year of Herod's reign	22	Years of Herod's reign	19
	L 2		The

THE true sources of Herod's reign are, in the distinct columns, marked conformably with the faithful report of genuine history ; but by both dates, the years 714 and 717, were respectively the first of Herod. The computation must have proceeded from 713 and 716. On this principle, the foundation of the temple must have been laid, neither in the 15th nor 18th; but in the 23d or 20th of Herod. Thus far the notations of Josephus vary from the number specified in the Gospel. But in favour of the Jewish historian justice demands, that the terms he employs be interpreted, according to his probable meaning. In a quotation, already produced in the way of reference, he remarks, " that the priests built the temple itself in 18 months; or in the second year from the foundation of its walls. The author's dates are not now uniformly, without variation, in the several copies, expressed 15 and 18. Be it supposed, that the Jews reckoned the 46 years from the finishing of the work, the computation then begins in the year when Antigonus died, as by the second column, the temple was begun in the 18th and finished in the 20th of Herod. The Jews altered their opinion of the temple's age, about 50 years before Josephus wrote its history : and if both they and he committed a mistake in numeration, the Evangelist, who reports the remonstrance as it was stated, is not responsible. If both parties merit the character of precision, the 46 years expired in the year before Christ's appearance in his prophetic office ; and if this were the notion of the Jews, their words ought to be rendered, " Forty and six

six years hath this temple been built ;" which sense the original text easily admits *.

5. Time of his Death.

" HEROD died, having enjoyed the kingdom 34 years after he had killed Antigonius ; but from the time that he was declared king by the Romans, 37, about the 25th of our November, or the 7th of the month Cisleu, which is therefore accounted a joyful and festival day, because then Herod died, who hated all wise men ; as Edward Lively, a most learned man, noted in his Chronology, in מגללות העניות, Megilloth Tanith, or Volume of the Feast †."

LE Clerc assigns the same dates, with the only difference of substituting the Varronian year of Rome 750, for the last two chronological numbers in the Annals ‡. The number of the Julian period, though exact, requires two corrections. It is erroneous first, as put in connection with A. M. 4001, instead of 4005,

* All Aorists denote time either past or future. Those which express time not future, may, according to the truth of grammatical propriety, signify time either past, or passing. For example, *tu es Iesū γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ* ; " Jesus having been born in Bethlehem." Here is a notation of time fully past. Why should not *τίσσετακοντα καὶ ἑξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομηθῇ ὁ ναὸς ὕψος*, " This temple hath been built 46 years." The meaning is, It is a new and firm structure, and may last ages. Matt. ii. 1. John, ii. 20.

† Usher's Annals, A. M. 4001. Jul. Per. 4710. as by him marked.

‡ See Hist. Ecclesiast. page 215.

and secondly as brought too low by eight months, November instead of March.

MACNIGHT, and his author Lardner, hesitate as to the year of Herod's death, concluding that he neither died before A. U. C. 750, nor survived 751; but conclude, that the season was the SPRING. It is here added, that it was the spring before November A. P. J. 4710, of the world 4005, and of the Varronian era 750. In Josephus the proofs are numerous and determinate;—a short time before a national fast, and before a passover, &c.

HEROD being seized with his last illness, and a rumour spread that his distemper was incurable, nay, that he was actually dead, on the very day when the Jews observed annually a national fast, certain young men were instigated by two rabbis to take down the golden image of an eagle, which, to the great displeasure of the nation, Herod had set up over the portal of the temple. They, under the very probable hope of impunity, were easily persuaded, and accordingly removed, that monument of idolatry, at noon day, in the presence of a great concourse of the worshippers. The captain of the temple, with an armed force, apprehended 40 of the mutineers, and carried them to Jericho, where Herod then was, in a state of extreme weakness. The most obnoxious were burnt alive, and an eclipse of the moon signalized the night of the execution. In the meantime a rescript arrived from Augustus, to whom had been referred the case of Antipater, a son of Herod, then convicted of a conspiracy against his father's life. The emperor

emperor having referred the matter to Herod's discretion, without recommending any other measure than acting as became a father, and a king, by inflicting either banishment or death. Antipater was immediately executed in prison. Herod died after five days;—a very short space, but fully sufficient for all the intermediate transactions. The funeral solemnities over, and seven days, as usual, spent in mourning, Archelaus repaired to Jerusalem, and went into the temple at the time of the passover; when and where he ratified his conformity to the national religion by sacrifice, &c. bespake the allegiance of his subjects, received the acclamations of all, heard the grievances of some; and forthwith set out on a voyage for Rome, in order to have his father's will, appointing himself to the succession, confirmed by authority of Augustus*.

THE passover fell that year on the 12th of our Julian April; the night of the eclipse was the full moon, precisely 30 days before that festival. The middle of the eclipse at Jerusalem was $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours after midnight, on the 13th March †.

THE fast is a character of the time, of which no vestige has occurred to the writer of these sheets, in the works of those learned men who have laboured to ascertain the date now required. In D. Levi's Rites and

* This is a very brief epitome of the chronological notations from Josephus. Ant. xvii. 6—9. War, i. 33. and II. I.

† See the calculation constructed, in Whiston's Astronomical Lectures.

Ceremonies of the Jews, p. 125, is the following remark: "Order 13th, the day before the feast of Purim, is kept a fast, called the Fast of Esther, in commemoration of her having fasted three days and nights before she went to supplicate the king for the deliverance of the Jews; who were marked out for destruction by Haman; although Esther fasted in the first month, Nisan: but that being the time of the passover, we keep the fast on the day before the feast*. Besides this fast differs from all other fasts in the year; for this reason, because on the sabbath day is forbidden all manner of mourning or fasting: therefore, whenever a fast day happens to fall on a sabbath, (except it be the great day of expiation, which supersedes the sabbath), it is deferred till the next day, except this fast, which is anticipated two days; the reason of which is this: the day after being Purim, which is the feast, and the day before being Friday, they could not finish the fast on account of the sabbath beginning before dark, and they being obliged to fast till night: therefore when it happens on the sabbath, it is kept on the Thursday before."

750. It is worthy of remark, that this very year, A. U. C. 710, the 13th Adar fell on Saturday, the national sabbath; and the fast, agreeably with these regulations, was actually kept on the foregoing Thursday, the 8th of our March. Thus is ascertained the solemnity which characterizes the time of taking down the golden eagle. It would have been extremely satisfactory, if

* Purim in Adar.

Mr.

Mr. Levi had applied this passage in Josephus to an anniversary, in that age so very ancient, and at this day celebrated periodically.

THESE characters of time, numerous, direct, and all in unison, divest of probability the arrangement of Lively, Usher, Le Clerc, &c. built on the slender authority of the Rabbinical Book on Fasts and Festivals.

6. *Were all the Years of this Reign, as differently dated, full?*

THIS enquiry is the more necessary, as, by taking eight months from the term of Herod's life, the duration of his reign is proportionably shortened. But the result depends on the solution of a difficult problem;—the season of the year when he was first created king at Rome. From sundry circumstances of time incidentally mentioned by Josephus, it is presumed, that the Parthians placed Antigonus on the throne of his father, Aristobulus, early in the spring A. U. C. 714; and that the Roman senate decreed that honour for Herod about the time of the ensuing summer solstice.

HEROD prefiging what soon came to pass, the pre-pollent force of Antigonus, in concert with the Parthians, fled to Rome, imploring assistance and protection. In his voyage from Pamphylia, he was in danger of shipwreck from tempestuous weather, but escaped to Rhodes, thence to Brundisium, and hence to Rome, where being invested with royalty, he, after a short abode of seven days, went back to Brundisium, whence resuming his voyage, he arrived at Ptolemais, a sea port
in

in Palestine, after a short expedition of about three months. Finding that Antigonus had kept his mother, sister, and family, ever since his retreat, in close siege at Masada, a fortress in the tribe of Judah, he hastened to their relief. His brother Joseph, who all the while repelled the assailants, at last reduced to extremity for want of water, had resolved, in desperation, to attempt an escape. But a plentiful fall of rain having supplied all the cisterns, Herod came up in time to relieve his friends. This circumstance plainly indicates the summer season. It is here mentioned purely as a conjecture; for, in the history of the second commencement, more decisive notations occur; and it may perhaps be shewn, that each computation originates from the same day of the same month in two different years.

THE first of the feast of seven days, provided by Antony for Herod, at his inauguration, is by Josephus denominated, in two passages, the FIRST DAY of his reign, A. U. C. 714 *. It was afterwards, as the original date of his regal honours, distinguished by the title of NATALIS REGNI, *the nativity of his kingdom*. In its future repetitions it was celebrated with regal magnificence; but none of the historians specify the day of the month.

“HEROD took Jerusalem, and made Antigonus a prisoner, in the consulate of M. Agrippa and Canidius Gallus, in the 185th olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of

* Ant. xiv. 14. 1. and War, i. 14. 4.

calamities had returned, since the reduction of the same city by Ptolemy, after 27 years *."

It may be enquired whether this were not the anniversary of his first appointment by the senate, and also the source of the second reckoning?

AGRIPPA and Gallus were consuls A. U. C. 717. That year was the fourth of the 185th olympiad; and the olympic years were always counted from the new moon before the summer solstice. In the first year of the first olympiad, that new moon fell on the 9th July; and the next autumnal equinox on the 1st October. After 740 years, or 185 olympiads, the 5th July was the time of the summer solstice in 717. Whether Josephus meant the third month of the Hebrew year, or of the siege, has improperly been controverted. This author elsewhere† mentions the fifth month of the siege, and then reckons only from the term of Herod's engaging in that enterprize; for Sosius had, with a numerous army, begirt the city one full month before. The third month of the year must be the true notation. "Herod marched up to Jerusalem, about the end of winter, in the third year of his reign‡." "At the end of the siege it was summer§." This criterion of time corresponds to the commencement of the olympic year, and to the third Hebrew month. The historian omits the day of the month, though he specifies it by a character

* Josephus, Ant. xiv. 16. 3.

† They bore a siege of five months. War, i. 18. 2.

‡ War, i. 17. 8.

§ Ant. xiv. 16. 2.

then

then well known, but now obscure; on the SOLEMNITY of the FAST.

THE Hebrew festivals and fasts, as well those of human as of a divine appointment, are an indispensable directory in calculation. Without a middle term of such exquisite use, and so infallible both in its principles and conclusions, chronology could not have a firm basis. Moses prescribed no fast for the third month; neither is any of a subsequent date to be found in Levi's Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the modern Jews. Josephus, however, often refers to the fast of that month, as solemnized in his time: and it has already been remarked, that it was enacted to commemorate the introduction of idol-worship into Samaria, in the first of Rehoboam. The 23d of the third month was the time of its observance annually. In the year of Rome 717, the 23d of Sivan was coincident with the 22d of June; and this seems to be the most probable date of Herod's accession, whether reckoned from the decree of the senate, or from the capture of the city.

DID this conclusion rest on one doubtful character of time, or on the authority of an equivocal record, when or by whom written, none can tell, it might be rejected as an ideal conjecture. But with the evidence arising from calculation, from the harmony of national eras, and magistracies, from several specifications of seasons, it derives every criterion of probability.

OF this complicated disquisition the result is, that Herod died about three months before the end of his 37th year from the decree of the senate, and of his

34th from the reduction of Jerusalem: for $750-713=37$; and $750-716=34$; from each remainder three months are to be deducted.

7. The foregoing Computations applied to the historical Date of Christ's Nativity.

IN the days of Herod the king was born John the Baptist, and Jesus Christ about six months after *. In the same reign, and but a very short space before its termination, was Jesus, in his infancy, conveyed into Egypt, and recalled at the accession of Archelaus †.

THE visit of the eastern sages at Bethlehem must be referred to the interval from the first to the 40th day of our Lord's life. On the latter he certainly was presented in the temple, whence his parents returned with him, not to Bethlehem, but immediately to Nazareth in Galilee, and there was intimated to them the warning for their removal with him into Egypt, together with the reason of that injunction. "There they continued until the death of Herod ‡." All these notations justify the position, that, according both to the Hebrew and Roman computation, Jesus was born in the year before Herod's demise. The time of the recess in Egypt is a point which has unhappily divided the sentiments of chronologers and critics. All however agree, that the return thence was immediately subsequent to the death of Herod.

* Luke, i.

† Matt. ii. 1-19.

‡ Matt. ii. 15.

FROM the age of the infants comprehended in the bloody edict for a general massacre in Bethlehem, and its precincts, ("two years old and under,") has it been conjectured, that either our Lord was born about two years before the execution of that edict; or, that Herod lived as long after. By the latter clause of the alternative, the residence in Egypt was two years. It is replied to both clauses in common, that, from the capricious humour of a desperate tyrant, driven to madness by diseases, fury, jealousy, and the dread of a political revolution, no certain conclusion is deducible. Resolved, at any rate, not to permit the escape of one innocent victim, he extended the terms of the sanguinary mandate to two years and under; though Jesus, at the time, might be an infant of a few days or weeks. But the hypothesis merits a more special and minute examination.

FIRST; if our Lord were two years old, or nearly so, at the date of the mandate, his age must have been more than twelve when he conferred with the doctors in the temple, in the year after the removal of Archelaus; which year coincides in astronomical and historical connection with the taxation levied by Cyrenius; Judea having then, and no sooner, become a Roman province: for *till then*, Herod and Archelaus had paid a stipulated sum into the Roman treasury, as a yearly composition for all the revenues accruing from the lands and other property in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. While that regulation was in force, no Roman officers either did or could impose taxes on the inhabitants.

inhabitants individually. Farther, if our Lord's age were two years at the date of that edict, he was more than 30 years old in the 15th of Tiberius, or the first of John's ministry. But this character of time stands, and must ever remain, invariably fixt on the infallible basis both of prophetical and historical evidence.

SECONDLY ; suppose Herod to have lived two years after the execrable massacre at Bethlehem, the whole chronology of his life, above adjusted by coexistent events, almost to the exactness of a single day, is totally unhinged ; a compact chain disunited, and the coherence of every link violently broken. By what ?—the authority of a bold and paradoxical conjecture.

FINALLY ; in the spirit of licentious surmise, which assumes every thing, but proves nothing, be it postulated, in direct opposition to the testimony of two evangelists, that Jesus was born in the fourth year before the vulgar era, as stated by Archbishop Usher, the consequences must be admitted ; such as, the crucifixion did not fall within the procuratorship of P. Pilate, neither in the reign of Tiberius Nero ; though that great man has protracted both these magistracies three years beyond their final period, if the computation proceed by the true years of the world.

THE season of that year, which was signalized by the manifestation of Christ in human nature, is now, if possible, to be ascertained. It has already been shewn that this event, if fixed, as is usually done, to the 25th, and the tragical executions in so many families at Bethlehem,

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lehem, to the 28th of December, immediately before the death of Herod, the flight into Egypt was prior both to these executions, and to the 40th day of Christ's life, or second of February, the time appointed for his presentation in the temple. It was in like manner suggested, that the time assigned for the slaughter of the innocents, contradicts no report of history, common or canonical; but still this concession doth not assert the truth of the computation.

"THE times of the birth and passion of Christ, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were but little regarded by the Christians of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them, placed them in the cardinal points of the year; as the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, on the 25th of March, which, when Julius Cæsar corrected the calendar, was the vernal equinox *." Whether the primitive fathers, either from ignorance of exact periods in reckoning, or from inattention to terms clearly defined, or lastly, from a predilection in favour of usages, previously established by prescription, is a frivolous enquiry. Certain it is, that in matters of chronological precision, their works, or fragments of them, still preserved, do not prove them expert, much less infallible. The great author proceeds: "Neither was there any certain tradition about the years of Christ. For the Christians, who first began to enquire into such things, as Clement Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Jul. Africanus, Lac-

* Sir Isaac Newton on the Prophecies, p. 144.

tanthus, Jerom, Austin, Sulp. Severus, and as many as place the death of Christ in the 15th or 16th of Tiberius, make Christ to have preached but one year, or at most but two." What confidence is due to the arrangements of those men, in other good qualities however venerable, who connect the time of the passion with the 15th or 16th of Tiberius? Yet with just as little deference to the opinion of the passing and subsequent generations, certain authors, of no subordinate rank in the scale of literary fame, venture to honour, with their sanction, the no less absurd conclusion, that Christ's ministry was comprised within the narrow space of one or two years. Short indeed was the season of his life and usefulness. But why circumscribe both within a compass disproportionate to his history?

IN the eastern churches one festival only was appropriated to the commemoration of the nativity and epiphany, or manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, in the persons of the wise men from the East. The 25th December was first observed as the anniversary of the incarnation in the west. The more remote in local situation, the less is the authority of this usage. But those of the protestant churches who adopt it, rather consider it as an instance of conformity to ancient prescription, than express their conviction that the particular day, so observed, is the true chronological date.

WHATEVER be said as to the time assigned for the martyrdom of the babes at Bethlehem, the date of the nativity, of the presentation in the temple, and of the flight into Egypt, must be placed as much higher as the

gospel history requires, to give consistency to its parts. Forty days are sufficient; and this correction, obvious to common sense, will connect the time of our Lord's birth with the 15th November.

As this alteration is proposed for rectifying the chronology, not for introducing innovations in practice; and, as both prophecy and history are silent concerning the precise day of the event now under investigation, it may be requisite, with the Christian fathers, to prefer some one of the four cardinal points, in coincidence with some one prefigurative service of the Jewish church. The Feast of Booths, both in the contiguity of the time, and in the similarity of prefigurative ceremonies, is the most probable of all.

THE paschal lamb, with one of its appendant observances, the oblation of the first fruits was, as an infallible interpreter of the Hebrew ritual affirms, a striking representation of "Christ, our passover, sacrificed for us, and then rising from the dead as the first fruits of them that slept." The feast of weeks, kept on the 50th day from the offering of the first fruits year by year, together with the giving of the law from Sinai, on the first year of its institution, adumbrated the communication of the Holy Ghost, in his wonderful operations, on the day of Pentecost, at Jerusalem. In both these cases, the antitype realised every circumstance in the types, that of the time not excepted. Scarcely is it supposable, that the Feast of Tabernacles had no reference to the incarnation of Christ. Those who maintain the negative, will be reduced to the absurdity of

of putting a very frigid gloss on a very significant allusion of an evangelist, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt (*ἐσκήνωσεν*, pitched his tent) among us; and we beheld his glory," &c. Exclude the circumstance relative to the appointed season of this solemnity, the analogy is obvious. But connect it with the rest, the encampment, the pillar of fire, a temporary residence during a pilgrimage, to which Christ's natural life was nearly equal, the allusion acquires propriety, resemblance, significance, and energy.

To omit the words of an eminent writer in the past century, than whom few possessed more original ideas, and none surpassed him in the faculty of interpreting figurative language, were unpardonable.

"It is incredible that this *principal* feast should not be a type of some *principal* thing concerning Christ, as well as the rest; it being as solemn as either of the other two, nay, rather the chief of the three, as having a more extraordinary course of sacrifices than either of the other; yea, one day's more continuance, it having eight days. To it nothing but his incarnation and nativity can be applied; and it may be the eighth day was added, as figuring the time of his circumcision *. But it will be objected, that the birth of Christ was in December; and the feast of tabernacles was kept the

* The worthy author might have mentioned another circumstance of pre-eminence peculiar to this ordinance. It was ushered in with the apparatus of a great day of expiation for all Israel. For the Redeemer a body was prepared, that he might be capable of suffering for the sins of the world.

15th of the 7th month, which answered in a manner to our September. The interval is three months. In answer, give me leave to relate, not my own opinion, nor as my own, but that of the most learned chronologers; the sum of which is, that the birth of our Saviour was at the time of the feast of tabernacles. For first, it is apparent in the primitive church was neither certainty nor agreement about the time of our Lord's nativity, as Clemens of Alexandria witnesseth; and himself saith, that those who enquire more exactly, do assign the 25th May. Others assigned other times, as Epiphanius witnesseth, 400 years almost after Christ: so long, therefore, there was no certainty. After the time of Constantine, the day we now observe was chosen, and first in the Latin church; but not in the Greek till the days of Chrysostom, who made an oration, yet extant, upon the first observing of this day, which he says they then received from the Latin church. If any would know, after so much uncertainty of opinion, how they came at last to resolve upon this day, they will tell you, that it was upon a false supposal, and a mistaken ground, &c.*"

FROM history and analogy every probability indicates the autumnal equinox, and the feast of tabernacles in the year of the Julian Period 4709, or the 749th of the Varronian era. On these principles easy it were

* Joseph Mede's Works, p. 266. Those who desire to obtain fuller historical information, may peruse the sequel of this author's argument, or Bedford's Chronology, p. 416—418.

to bring the subject to the test of calculation. But minuteness is not here affected. By this computation the age of Christ, at the time of Herod's death, was six months, the distance between the opposite equinoxes.

A TERM, or first point in reckoning, either assumed or discovered, will be subservient to a just arrangement of historical events, from this era of the nativity to the demise of Tiberius.

7. *Archelaus.*

HIS accession may be dated from the vacancy of the throne, about the 20th of March. Josephus, in one passage, assigns nine years to the duration of his government, in another, ten *. In each is related a dream concerning ears of corn eaten by oxen, the numbers of both being expressed with the like variation. That singular dream, with its interpretation by Simon the Essene, who said it presaged the length of his reign, Archelaus reported to his friends some time before his removal to Rome. But the notations of time, as contradictory, are indecisive. Other self-consistent dates, however, occur in the same author, and in favour of the larger number. 1. In the History of his own Life † he relates, that his father, Matthias, was born in the TENTH of Archelaus' government. 2. That in the currency of that year, not only the chiefs of the people in Samaria and Judea, but

* War. ii. 7. 3.; and Ant. xvi. 13. 2.

† Section 1.

even his own brothers, preferred a complaint against him, of tyranny, and other instances of maladministration, at Cæsar's tribunal; who dispatched a messenger to apprehend his person, and conduct him to Rome *. These orders being executed, Archelaus was tried, found guilty, and sent into exile at Vienne in Gaul. The time spent in transmitting the complaint of grievances, in the voyage of the messenger, in his return with the prisoner, and in the formalities of his trial, may fairly be supposed to have taken up the remainder of that year. 3. That Philip, the brother of Archelaus, died in the 20th of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Gaulonitis, and other principalities, 37 years†. The 20th of Tiberius is computed from the death of Augustus; and ends in the year after the crucifixion, precisely 37 years from the death of Herod; wanting four days, and 27 after the banishment of Archelaus:—all which notations evince, that the length of his reign was ten full years, ending in the 11th of our Lord's life, and 7th of the vulgar era.

8. *Procurators in Judea from Archelaus to the Death of Tiberius.*

THEIR number, and years of magistracy, are collected from Josephus and Prideaux.

Coponius	-	2	Brought forward	6
Marcus Ambivius		3	Valerius Gratus	11
Annius Rufus	-	1	Pontius Pilate	10
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		6		27

* Ant. xvii. 13. 2.

† Ant. xviii. 4. 6.

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This sum is the interval from the banishment of Archelaus to the death of Tiberius Nero, in the year after the crucifixion. But it is requisite to specify a few of the intermediate events, coincident with certain events of our Lord's life.

9. *Confiscation of Archelaus' Estate.*

"JUDEA was added to the province of Syria, and Augustus sent Cyrenius*, who had been invested with the dignity of a consul, to levy a tax in Syria, and sell the house of Archelaus. With him he sent also Coponius, of the equestrian order, to have supreme power over the Jews, even that of capital punishment, without reference or appeal to the emperor, as had till now been the usual practice, in the 37th year of Cesar's victory over Antony at Actium†. This author often characterises the date of the same event, both by cardinal and ordinal numbers. From the battle at Actium to the procuratorship of Coponius, excluding both, the interval is full 37 years, being the 38th of Augustus's reign, the twelfth of our Lord's age, the first after the degradation of Archelaus. In that year, at the time of the passover, which was the 12th return of that festival from his own nativity, and also from the decease of Herod, Jesus was found in the temple, sitting among the doctors, both hearing their communications, and asking them questions. Josephus

* Quirinus, Luke, ii. 2.

† Ant. xvii. 13. 1. xviii. 1. 1. and ch. ii. 1. War. ii. 8. 1.

characterises the accession of Archelaus, and an evangelist the first of Coponius, without naming him, by one common criterion—A PASSOVER ;—and thus, without a fractional part of time, is the intermediate space defined.

IN the same chapter, and in the same year, the same evangelist mentions the first actual taxation in Judea, which then, and no sooner, was united with the presidency of Syria, but under a distinct procurator *. That tax, especially from the manner of collecting it, by Roman officers, from house to house, was, at the very time, extremely unpopular; and hence *publicans* were proverbially classed with the *worst of sinners*. Josephus relates the tumultuary measures of Judas, the ring-leader of that faction, and refers to this particular year: "In his (Coponius') administration, Judas, a Galilean, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said, those who would endure to pay the Romans a tax, and would, after God, submit to the domination of mortal men, were cowards †." The distractions which on that occasion embroiled the tetrarchies in Palestine, were not soon forgotten. After the lapse of 25 years, Gamaliel appealed to them as memorable and recent facts, and as examples of opposition alike unjustifiable and abortive: "After him (Theudas) rose up Judas in Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished: and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed ‡."

* Luke, ii. 2—42.

† War, viii. 2. 1.

‡ Acts, v. 37.

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“THAT the Census in the end of Herod's reign should have produced no disturbances may seem strange, when it is remembered that the subsequent enrolment under Cyrenius occasioned the sedition of Judas. But the temper of a nation is not always the same. Much depends on the wisdom and address of those who are at the head of affairs. Herod was himself a man of extraordinary abilities, and had officers under him dextrous in managing the humours of a multitude; and therefore it cannot be thought strange, that the enrolment in his reign should have been tamely submitted to, while that which Quirinus made after Archelaus's banishment threw the nation into such confusion*.”

OF the insurrection raised by Judas, Josephus gives this account: “All sorts of mischiefs sprang from these men [Judas and his faction]. One violent war came upon the back of another, and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pains. There were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done indeed on pretence for the public welfare, but in reality from the hope of gain to themselves. Hence arose seditions and murders, which sometimes fell on their own people and sometimes on their enemies†.”

* Macnight, Chron. Dissert. i. p. 75.

† Ant. xviii. 1. 1.

C H A P. III.

CHRONOLOGY of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

I. *His Birth.*

SUETONIUS connects the nativity of this famous personage, with the 24th September, in the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius, the year of Catiline's conspiracy, and consequently in the 691st of the Varronian era *. This date is confirmed by two authentic notations; the one in Tacitus †, who has preserved a curious remark of the populace at the very time of his death ‡;—"That the same day of the year was the first of his magistracy, and the last of his life:"—the other is taken from the same Suetonius, who affirms in the life of Octavius §, that he invaded

* D. Octav. cap. 5. This author mentions a different date, though of the same year; but as a vulgar tradition, and resting on the authority of an astrologer, P. Nigidius—the 13th December;—that very night when the senate was deliberating on the fate of the conspirators, cap. 94. But the place and manner of mentioning this report shews, that this judicious writer repeated it, with no small degree of academic faith.

† Annal. 1. cap. 9.

‡ 19th Aug.

§ Cap. 26.

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the consulate in the 20th year of his life. With this arrangement Paterculus, a contemporary writer, agrees, and is more determinate. "He entered on his consulate when he wanted but one day to complete his 20th year*," and "that this was 72 years before the consulate of Marcus Vinicius," A. U. C. 783. Hence deduct 72, the surplus 711 is the true term. All these notations are in exact harmony, except that in Tacitus,

2. *His first Consulate.*

THIS date is already ascertained. It only remains to be observed, that the ease and perspicuity of computation require that his magistracy be supposed to commence about 18 months earlier, from the assassination of the first Caesar on the 15th March 710. Thus the consulship of Julius and Antony, and that of Hirtius and Pansa, for a part of the next year, are superseded. This is the reckoning of Josephus, and accords much better with the chronological characters in the gospels.

3. *His Age and Death.*

THIS subject of disquisition has likewise been in part anticipated. A few points are briefly to be retouched, with additional remarks. If the time of his death can, with certainty, be discovered, the deduction of a small quantity, both from his life and reign, will be requisite and necessary.

* L. ii. 65.

SUETONIUS suggests one circumstance, (generally omitted by the other historians), subservient to this discovery. "A law having been passed, on a motion from the consuls, appointing Tiberius to be joined with Augustus in the administration of certain provinces, and in the celebration of the next lustrum, and this last solemnity having been finished, Tiberius instantly set out for Illyricum, one of those provinces committed to his government; and Augustus accompanied him part of the way, but died before his return to Rome*."

THIS criterion of time, though defective, shows that Augustus died a very short space after the exhibition of a lustrum. But Livy supplies this defect †. "In the Varronian year of Rome 450, it is said that Q. Fabius Maximus, the censor, instituted the solemn procession of the Roman knights, of which the anniversary is the 15th July." The ceremony is thus described by a late author: "Every fifth year the Equites rode up to the Censor, seated in his curule chair, before the capitol, and dismounting, led along their horses in their hands before him, and in this manner were reviewed ‡." Augustus, by every account, died on the 19th August, A. U. C. 766, or 35 days after the lustrum, and according to Suetonius, just as many before the conclusion of his 76th year §.

USHER, Prideaux, and others, connect his decease with the number of the Julian Period 4727, coincident

* Vita. Tib. Neronis, cap. 21.

† Lib. ix. 46.

‡ Dr. Adams's Roman Antiquities, p. 28.

§ D. Octav. Aug. cap. 100.

with

with the Varroian year 767. This date is brought too low by one year : for, by the computation of Suetonius, $766 - 691 = 75$, leaves but 75 for the age of this emperor, and the last incomplete. Thus one year must be retrenched from his life. The rotations of the lustrum are an infallible character of time, from the very date of the institution, in the first of Servius Tullius, Ann. Varron. 176. This sum deduct from 766, and the difference, 590, divided by 5, quotes 118 lustra, without a remainder. Though this solemnity was omitted for 16, or even 40 years occasionally, never did one deviation happen from the regular returns of this circulating period.

Two years must also be deducted either from this, or from the subsequent reign ; for, if 56 full years be assigned to the one, and 23 to the other, the interval, from the slaughter of Julius to the death of Tiberius, is 79 years ; which exceed the truth by two. For a reason, afterwards to be produced, the reign of Augustus must be abridged.

4. *Decree of Enrolment at Bethlehem.*

“ IT came to pass, in those days, (of Herod’s reign), that a decree went forth from Cesar Augustus, that ALL the WORLD should be taxed *.” In the Roman phraseology ALL the WORLD was a term equivalent to the then widely-extended EMPIRE of that people. But provision having been made by a constitutional ordinance,

* Luke, ii. 1.

(the

(the census, about six centuries before), for fixing the public revenues, in proportion to the private property of the subjects; no particular decrees for that purpose occur in former periods, much less at that time. Augustus indeed celebrated, during his long reign, three notable lustra, each at the distance of 20 years, at the usual times, and not in virtue of an extraordinary statute. In the first Augustus presided together with Mark Agrippa, Ann. Varr. 726; in the other alone, 746; in the third with Tiberius Nero, 766*. But the monumental inscriptions marked on those occasions, and still extant, declare the quality of the persons enrolled and taxed;—Roman citizens; (*censu sunt civium Romanorum capita.*) Besides, none of all the three years can, by any reasonable computation, be brought to agree with the time of Christ's nativity.

It may be surmised that the provinces, either all or some of their numbers, might be enrolled; at least at times distinct from that of the national CENSUS. Surmises are not evidence. As to any general survey of the provinces, during this interval of 40 years, history is entirely silent: and every presumption induces the belief that the decree to which the evangelist refers, was restricted to Herod's dominions; for as the Romans denominated the empire by the title of *Totus Terrarum Orbis*, the WHOLE WORLD, so the sacred writers called the land of Palestine, *Πασα Οικουμένη*, an expression equivalent to the *whole* country of Judea, Samaria, and Ga-

* Suet. Octav. Aug. cap. 27.

like. Thus much for the terms. But does the presumption now suggested rest on the basis of historical probability?

HEROD'S country, about three years before his death, was very much infested by a powerful body of Trachonitish robbers, who had been encouraged in their depredations by one Syllæus, the deputy of Obodas, king of Arabia Petræa, an ally of the Roman empire. With a military force Herod passed over into that country, and put to death numbers of the invaders, but found the main body in a fortress, (granted them by Syllæus), where they were inaccessible. After this unsuccessful expedition, the exasperated thieves, having acquired an accession of force from Syllæus, made a fresh irruption into Judea and Cœlesyria, in their progress laying waste the country and villages. Herod applied for redress to the governors of Syria. By their mediation Syllæus agreed to compromise matters, and also to pay a debt of 60 talents formerly borrowed from Herod, within 30 days. Without performing any part of his engagements Syllæus went to Rome, with a complaint against Herod, as carrying on unprovoked hostilities with the Arabians. Augustus giving implicit credit to this report, expressed his resentment in a letter to Herod, setting forth, in terms more acrimonious than moderate, "That formerly he had acted towards him as a friend, but thenceforth would treat him as a dependant." By a happy conjuncture of incidents, Herod proved the falsehood of the whole charge at the emperor's tribunal, and so effected a reconciliation*.

* *Jos. Ant. xvi. chap. ix. p. 16.*

HERE seems to be a very natural account of the decree in its cause and origin. Augustus, in the first transport of indignation, having formed the resolution of reducing Herod to the abject condition of a vassal, had, as a previous step, emitted an edict for the survey of his dominions. But that ferment of displeasure subsiding, and after some time the innocence of Herod being vindicated, he forbore his resentment; and though the survey had been executed, its effects were suspended. This reconciliation took place in the 34th of Herod's reign, and only a few months before his death. In this short interval (and neither sooner nor later) is the enrolment at Bethlehem to be sought and found.

HISTORY farther reports, "That in the reign of Augustus, an enrolment was made in Judea, by Sentius Saturninus *." This census could be no other than the *ἀπογραφὴ*, enrolment, in the evangelist. In both the name of the emperor is expressed, and the *whole world* or *land* is restricted to *Judea*. Tertullian adds the name of the Roman commissioner. Saturninus succeeded Agrippa, as president of Syria, in the 26th of Herod's reign, computed from the defeat or death of Antigonus. Of his intermeddling, either by authority or otherwise, with the affairs of the Jews, not one vestige occurs in history prior to his concern in the litigation between Herod and Syllæus. He is next mentioned as a judge, in the trial of Herod's sons by Mariamne †, in the second year

* Census actus sub Augusto, in Judea, per Sentium Saturninum. Tertull. Contra Marcion. Lib. iv. 19.

† Ant. xvi. 11. 3.

before

before their father's death: and the very year of that death he was superseded by the appointment of Quintilius Varus, his successor in the province of Syria. It has been shown that the decree for the enrolment was not issued before the Varronian year 748; and it is now certain, from sundry explicit notations of time, that it could not be executed by Saturninus after 749. It must therefore have been executed at Bethlehem, about the time of the autumnal equinox, the true historical date of our Lord's nativity.*

* "In this matter were two distinct particular actions done at distinct and different times, the *survey* and the *levy*. In Luke, ii. 1, the former is to be understood, and in verse second the latter. This reconciles that evangelist with Josephus, from whom it is manifest that Cyrenius was not governor of Syria, and levied no tax upon Judea, till after Archelaus was deposed, and that country brought under a procurator, which was above eleven years after the decree for the *survey*. If therefore the second verse of the second chapter be so rendered as to imply the *levying* of the tax, according to the *description* mentioned in the former verse, was first executed, this will remove all difficulties, and the text can well bear this interpretation." Prid. P. ii. p. 507. The more full consideration of this matter is reserved for its proper place.

C H A P. IV.

C H R O N O L O G Y of T I B E R I U S N E R O.

FOR the date of his birth Suetonius assigns three distinct and successive years, characterised by as many pairs of consuls;—Emilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus, Aulus Hirtius and Vibius Pansa, Servilius Isauricus and Lucius Antonius;—corresponding to the Varronian years 711, 712, 713. With this author Tacitus and Dion Cassius agree, in the report that he died in his 78th-year. If the last were incomplete A. U. C. 787, and 711 be subducted, he died before the end of his 76th. Either therefore his birth must be anticipated, or his life protracted two years.

IT must occur to the reader's recollection, that all the Roman historians, not excepting even those who admit a part of Nero's reign to have been common to that of his predecessor, assign to both a period of 79 or 80 years, from the premature and tragical death of Julius. The time of the partnership in empire was two years. Let these be retrenched, and then the 78th of Nero will coincide with 787 in March. Evident is the absurdity of dating his birth from 711, and prolonging

longing his reign to 789. For thus our Lord was not crucified in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, as all the evangelists testify; neither in the reign of Tiberius, as Tacitus relates; but in that of Caligula.

THE next subject of disquisition is the two-fold date of this reign. Certain it is that he returned from his last expedition in Germany, and, besides other honours, had a splendid triumph, in the consulate of Germanicus Cesar and Fonteius Capito, A. U. C. 765. Among other honours on that occasion conferred, one was, an equal authority and power in the administration of certain provinces with Augustus. On the 19th of August 766, he became sole emperor by the death of his colleague. The question now is, from which of these dates is his fifteenth year, that much celebrated chronological character in the gospel history, to be computed? Every criterion of historical truth establishes the former. From the last year of Augustus's sole administration in 764, deduct the year of the first Cesar's assassination, 710, the remainder, 54, brings forward the reckoning to the 20th March 765, the very point whence the government of Tiberius is here supposed to commence; and $765 + 15 = 780$, makes the 16th March the first day of his 15th year, or the 70th from the slaughter of Julius. This unusual term of computation for the short interval from the rise of the Roman monarchy, to the death of the second emperor, is chosen, from no affectation of singularity, or merely for the sake of controverting the truth of arrangements,

which prescription has made familiar. The author's sole motive is the application of a regulating measure from the first to the 78th Julian year;—a measure precisely equal to the natural life of Tiberius, with the deduction of eight months, without defect or surplus. In this space Augustus began, under the limitations abovementioned, his reign of 54 years on the 16th March; and on the same day, in the rotation of years, that of Tiberius, comprehending 23 years, both began and ended. A test of so much use and certainty, though obvious even to superficial readers, has unaccountably been overlooked by the most penetrating critics in chronology, and escaped the researches of all the Harmonists.

To prevent, however, the censure of innovation, let the accession of Nero, in the life-time of Augustus, be reckoned (only one year before the demise of the latter) from the 20th August 763, and let 14 be added; the operation denotes the 19th August 779; and by this statement of terms the 15th of his reign terminated the 20th August 780. At the time of the preceding vernal equinox, the word of God came to John in the wilderness. This computation is just, but less perspicuous. For the expositors of the gospel having generally referred the death of Herod to November, (about eight months after its true astronomical date), computed the reigns both of Archelaus and of Nero from a too advanced season of the year. But all these notations being brought nearly to the beginning of either the

Roman or Hebrew year, computation proceeds in an orderly series from one common point, exhibiting, as in a procession, personages and incidents.

JOHN the Baptist's ministry is a notable era both in prophecy and history. Then began the 70th week, to which was assigned the work of confirming the covenant with many during its currency. In the middle of the same week was the Most Holy to be anointed, the sacrifice and oblation to cease; and at its expiration, the Messiah to be cut off.

THIS oracle, with respect to the order of the events foretold, derives abundant elucidation from history. For instance: "The BEGINNING of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God; as it is written in the prophets, Behold I send my messenger—the voice of one crying in the wilderness *." "All the prophets, and the law, prophesied until John †." To that word, "which was preached through all Judea, and began from Galilee, after the baptism, which John preached," the apostles referred their hearers: and their doctrine in substance was, "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power, &c. ‡"

THAT the commencement of John's ministry might be transmitted to subsequent generations, with various discriminating characters of the TIME, the evangelist describes it by no less than six historical notations, then universally known, and still extant in the annals of that age: 1. the 15th of Tiberius Cesar; 2. the procura-

* Mark, i. 1—3.

† Mat. xi. 12.

‡ Acts, x. 37, 38.

torship of Pontius Pilate; 3. the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas in Galilee, the same who put John the Baptist to death; 4. of Herod Philip in Iturea and Trachonitis, distinct names for the same principality. These were sons of Herod the Great, and brothers of Archelaus, to whom were assigned the parts of his dominions already mentioned. That Antipas was living in this year is certain; for John, some time after, reproved him for having taken his brother Philip's wife, who was still living. Thus is evinced the coexistence of Antipas and Philip at the time specified: 5. the tetrarchy of Lyfanius in Abilene, a province of Cælesyria; 6. the conjunct pontificate of Annas and Caiaphas.

It is here requisite and necessary to ascertain every criterion subservient to the distinction of the two terms, whence the accession of Tiberius is to be reckoned.

IN the first year common to the two emperors, M. Ambivius was procurator in Judæa; in the second, A. Rufus. No sooner was Augustus dead than Tiberius removed Rufus, and gave that trust to Valerius Gratus. His commission lasted 11 years, (as in page 92), and consequently expired with the appointment of his successor P. Pilate, in the 13th of Tiberius. Count forward the 10 years of Pilate's residence in Judæa; $13 + 10 = 23$. But if this reign commenced with the procuratorship of Gratus, it did not exceed 21, and the last year incomplete; for the emperor died after a reign of 20 years and one day. The evangelist, for all these reasons, counted from the joint administration, according to the usage of that age, which, in similar cases, obtains

obtains every where. The first of Pilate's procuratorship was consequently the 15th of Tiberius. Had he been invested with the imperial dignity but one year sooner, the word of God must have come to John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness, Valerius Gratus being then governor of Judea. Such is the precision, such the infallible certainty of the chronological notations in the gospel. This evangelist has marked one decisive circumstance, which corrects all the Roman historians, as to the true interval from the assassination of Julius Cæsar, to the 15th of Tiberius Nero, the last included;—it is 69, not 71 years: and thus is rectified the chronology of the Augustan age.

THE beginning of the gospel is characterised, lastly, by a conjunct pontificate—that of Annas and Caiaphas.—This criterion is no less determinate. Valerius Gratus, about two years before, had removed this Annas from the high-priesthood, and substituted Simon. Now Pontius Pilate restored Annas, and permitted Joseph Caiaphas, his son-in-law, to officiate as his colleague. This was the first year of their joint ministration, and both presided at our Lord's trial, in the year of the crucifixion.

THE 15th of Tiberius, A. U. C. 779, was the 30th of our Lord's life. By infallible notes of time his nativity is fixed to the Feast of Tabernacles 749; and the less sum taken from the greater, 30 is the remainder; so that at the time of the opposite cardinal point, in this year, his age was precisely 29 years six months.

It has been objected, that Jesus began to be about 30 years old at his baptism *.

It must indeed be admitted, that this date is mentioned in immediate connexion with that part of the history. Hence some of the Harmony-writers contend, that our Lord was baptised in the first year of his forerunner's ministry; others that his age, in the 15th ~~of~~ ^{of} Tiberius, was but 26. But a very moderate degree of attention to the evangelist's method of arranging his gospel will detect the fallacy of both conjectures. The author exhibits, in one orderly series, the different parts of the same subject; and then introduces another, which he prosecutes in the same manner; for example; he opens his narrative with an account, first of the Baptist's nativity, then of his Lord; and under either head, notes the extraordinary circumstances relative to both. After a very concise view of a very few incidents, in the private life of either personage, he proceeds to the public character of each, and in the same order. In the third chapter the ministry of John is briefly described from verse 1 to 22, inclusively, where the baptism of Christ is mentioned, in connection with an advanced stage of that ministry. Hence a transition to another part of the general subject;—the personal ministry of Christ, the notation of whose age he brings into coincidence with the last-mentioned date, to which by a retrospective view, he virtually recalls the atten-

* Luke, iii. 21—23.

tion of his readers, who, without violating the continuity of coexistent events, may consider the concise account of John's ministry as a parenthesis. Such then are two dates in juxtaposition. "It came to pass, in the 15th year of Tiberius Cesar, that the word of God came to John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness; and Jesus himself began to be *about* 30 years of age, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph," &c. The evangelist could not, with more precision, have defined Christ's age, at the time of the vernal equinox in that year, except he had chosen to write 29 years six months*.

ANNALISTS are confined to the order of time, and so exhibit fragments of history. The historian, collecting parts, unites them with skill, rejecting every thing incoherent, dissimilar, or superfluous, and so frames one perfect and well-proportioned whole. In this method of historical composition, the evangelist exhibited a model for Suetonius, who, in his lives of the Cæsars, "proposes to present the several parts distinctly, and not in the order of time, but to combine

* The author would, with no less satisfaction than justice, have acknowledged his obligation to any of the critics, in whose works he expected to find this coexistence of time and numbers. As a very probable conjecture, little short of certainty, his singular opinion is submitted to discerning judges. Those critics, if any such be, who will affirm, that at the time of his baptism the age of Jesus did not exceed 30 years, must on the same grounds maintain, that his baptism was subsequent to the imprisonment of John, which, in the order of things, is recorded as a prior transaction.

things

things of like nature, that he might avoid confusion *."

If to A. U. C. 779, the 15th of Nero, and 30th of Jesus Christ, $3\frac{1}{2}$ years be added, the reckoning is continued to the autumnal equinox 783, the 19th and 34th of Nero and Christ respectively. This is the true date of his baptism, to which succeeded his temptations in the wilderness; and then commenced his ministry in the year of the 30th jubile from the partition of Canaan. All these direct evidences from history and prophecy, refute as idle surmises the positions of archbishop Usher, that Jesus was baptised in the first of John's ministry, that he spent three years in private life, and then began to preach and confirm his doctrine by miracles. This train of arbitrary and incoherent arrangements disjoins events, which all the evangelists combine in comely order and continuous succession.

To prevent every suspicion of so long an interval, the recess into the desert is connected with the baptism at Jordan. "IMMEDIATELY the spirit driveth him into the wilderness, where he was tempted 40 days†."

JESUS having suddenly disappeared, the priests and levites at Jerusalem, impatient to know whither he had retired, and anxious to learn what was his true character, sent a deputation to the Baptist, who was still continuing his ministrations about Bethabara‡. The

* *Partes exequar sigillatim, neque per tempora, sed per species; quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint.* Octav. cap 9.

† Mark, i. 12.

‡ John, i. 19.

time of this conference with the deputies may, with every circumstance of probability, be referred to the lapse of the 40 days nearly. For the next day, (after the return of the messengers), John seeing Jesus coming unto him, gave a fresh attestation to his character, as the Lamb of God, sent with authority and a special commission, to take away the sins of the world.

AGAIN the next day after, John, in the presence of two of his disciples, seeing Jesus as he walked, repeated his honourable testimony. These disciples, (the one Andrew the brother of Peter, and the other very probably John the Evangelist, who seldom records his own name), desirous of an interview, followed Jesus, and abode with him that day.

ON the following day, Jesus, on his way to Galilee, found Philip and Nathaniel, and having with the other two arrived at Cana, on the third day after the interview with Philip, or the 6th after the return from the wilderness, and the 46th from his baptism at Jordan, THERE he turned the water into wine. "THIS BEGINNING of MIRACLES did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory, and his disciples believed on him *."

"AFTER this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples; and they continued *there* not many days †." This very short space of time, with the intermediate occurrences, the other evangelists pass over in silence. Luke, however,

* John, i. 29—51. and ch. ii. 11.

† Ch. ii. 12.

records

records the events in the exact order of time, subsequent to the departure from Capernaum. "When the devil had ended all his temptation he departed from him for a season: and Jesus returned in the power of the spirit into Galilee, and a fame of him went out through all the region round about *." "And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and, as his custom was, went into the synagogue on (Saturday) the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read. The book of the prophet Esaias was delivered unto him; and when he had opened the book †, he found the place where it was written, The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he

* From sundry notations in the context, it is obvious that several incidents, not here recorded, did intervene before our Lord's visit to Nazareth, when his renown had, in a very short time, spread far and wide. The honourable report concerning him was not a *word* (λογος) imparted by one individual to another, neither a *rumour* in a narrow corner, (Luke, vii. 7—17); but *fame* (αὐδή), Mat. iv. 24. (φῆμη) Luke, iv. 14. Rumor est paucorum, fama omnium. Whence could this fame rise, but from his first signal miracle at Cana? That he had likewise done miracles at Capernaum is unequivocally intimated, verse 14. "Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in CAPERNAUM, do also here in *thy* country." Such indirect references to prior events are of essential use in ascertaining historical order. From the context it is likewise certain, that Christ manifested forth his glory by stupendous exertions of supernatural power, before he spake, as never man did by his doctrine. He delivered his first sermon at Nazareth, but there he worked no miracles.

† Πῶς αὖτε το βιβλίον, unfolded the little volume, which, perhaps, contained Esaias' prophecy.

alone

alone hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, — to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. He then closed the book ; gave it again to the minister, and sat down :—the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on him.”—After an expressive pause, “ He began to say unto them, This day is *this* scripture (*ἡ γραφή αὐτή*) fulfilled in your ears. All bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth * †.”

THE

* Luke, iv. 13. 22.

† Never prophet with equal solemnity or more effect opened his commission. It has already, and more than once been shewn, that the 4th, not the first of John’s ministry, and at the end of the first six months in that year, about the time of the autumnal equinox, was the true date of Christ’s baptism. It has also been shewn that the same year was not only sabbatical, but the 30th jubile from the partition of Canaan. Extremely frigid, not to say violent, is the arrangement in the Annals, where the first appearance of John on the banks of Jordan, the baptism of his Lord, the temptation in the wilderness, the mission of the deputies to John from Jerusalem, &c. are all crowded into his first year:—yet the time of Christ’s entrance on his personal ministry is deferred to the 4th. The passages already collected from the gospels, reprobate this disposition of events and times.

Were the art of regulating history by astronomy and chronology more generally known, many passages in the sacred writings, which are commonly read without emotion, (nay, with a kind of languid apathy), would forcibly arrest the attention of every mind, prepared by the knowledge of calculation, for consulting with discernment the Bible history. The prophecy so properly read with respect to the circumstance of time,

THE evangelist John proceeds in the natural series of things, and order of time. "The Jews passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Many believed in his name when they saw his miracles*." Six full months had now elapsed from the time of his baptism. From one circumstance it is presumed that he staid some time, perhaps several months, in Judea. For the pharisees having heard that he had made and baptised more disciples than John, Jesus left Judea and departed again into Galilee, by the way of Samaria, where he conversed with the woman at the well, and thence after two days departed, and went to Cana; where, on the application of a nobleman from Capernaum in behalf of his son, then at the point of death, he restored, at a distance, the patient to perfect health. This was the second of his miracles at Cana †.

IN the 5th chapter is mentioned a feast of the Jews, which has every probability of a passover, and the second in Christ's ministry. If so it were, Jesus was certainly at Jerusalem, and before his return described John as a luminary then set. "He *was* (not *is*) a

time, and so appositely applied, in the synagogue at Nazareth, is one of many pertinent examples. If all the learned commentators, deeply skilled in verbal criticism, and but very moderately acquainted with the doctrine of time in its measures, and the combinations of its parts, had been possessed of this indispensable qualification, from the days of Usher, the chronology of our Lord's life would not, as now, have been involved in perplexity.

* John, ch. ii. 12-23.

† Ch. iv. 1-54.

burning

burning and a shining light." Verse 35. He was then probably thrown into prison, but not executed. The next account of Jesus describes him as in Galilee, about the sea of Tiberias.

THE two other evangelists (Matthew and Mark) report, that when Jesus had heard, that John was cast into prison, he came into Galilee *. Hence natural is the inference, that Jesus, while in Judea, heard these tidings, which account exactly corresponds to the notations, John, v. 35, and ch. vi. 1, compared together. These characters of time and place, establish the certainty of another historical term:—The return into Galilee, of which Matthew and Mark take notice, was (in the passages to which the texts above-mentioned refer) the third after the lapse of the 40 days in the wilderness. That in John, i. 43, and in Luke, iv. 14, was the first; the other in John, iv. 43, was the second; and that in Mat. iv. 12, Mark, i. 14, and John, vi. 1, was the third; some short time after the second passover in the ministry of Christ.—It may be objected, 1. That the imprisonment of the Baptist is here brought one year lower than in the numerous arrangements of the Harmonists, who generally comprehend this historical incident within the space of time between the first and second passover. It is replied, that this minute investigation is not intended to rectify alone the precarious and unchronological postulates of the worthy primate, but also to examine the no less inaccurate speculations

* Mat. iv. 12. and Mark, i. 14.

of our ever multiplying race of harmony writers. The evangelists, even when they seem to differ, are in perfect concord; whereas their Harmonists, as it were in compact, are at serious pains to convince the world, that these evangelists knew nothing of the matters which they transmitted to the world.

It may be objected, 2. That Matthew and Mark record several acts of Jesus, prior in the order of time to the imprisonment of the Baptist. Answer: This is not to be inferred from the order, and much less from the time of calling the twelve disciples. John the evangelist, Andrew, his brother Simon, afterwards surnamed Peter, Philip, and Nathaniel, were occasionally with their Lord from the date of the first miracle at Cana, but not constantly. They and others were permitted to attend their secular functions, and had repeated calls for a temporary attendance. The complete number twelve might likewise have been embodied, or rather actually was, between the return from the wilderness and the second passover; but though these two evangelists professedly begin their history from the time John was taken into custody, yet they do relate many things of a prior date. In exact harmony with this assertion, the former, in an advanced stage of his narrative, mentions a message from the Baptist, while in confinement, to Christ; and afterwards his martyrdom*. The latter, in like manner, gives a concise account of the martyrdom alone†. Is it not hence presumable,

* Matt. xi. 3. and ch. xiv. 10.

† Mark, vi. 27.

that

that the far greater number of the facts in both histories was prior in time to the apprehending and execution of that eminent prophet? From the remark in either gospel nothing more can be inferred, than that the writers did not undertake an orderly account of the transactions from the return out of the wilderness to the third expedition into Galilee.

THE result of this unavoidably prolix disquisition is, that the three memorable events of Christ's baptism, temptation, and entrance on his prophetic functions, must necessarily be referred to the 4th year of John's ministry, and the 19th of Tiberius, from the date of his partnership in the empire. If these points be admitted; the Metropolitan's hypothesis of three years spent in private life, from the end of the 40 days temptation to the commencement of this personal ministry, falls to the ground. If not, the computation by sabbatical years, the oracles of prophecy, and the concurrent report of all the four evangelists, forfeits every pretension to credibility. They must be fallacious guides. Nay, even on the Metropolitan's principle, that Christ was baptised in the first year of John's ministry, that text from an ancient prediction, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness; prepare ye the way of the Lord!" was exquisitely proper for that herald of One greater and mightier, than himself: and after three years of privacy, it could not be improper for that greater and mightier, than the herald; to open his commission with another prediction equally authentic, "I am anointed to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." But,

O

inadvertently,

inadvertently, the Primate transfers to the herald the honour of a jubile, and condemns to the shade of imaginary obscurity three years of our Lord's life subsequent to *his* singular conjecture of a prior consecration to the functions of a prophet and martyr. Such decisions darken counsel by words without knowledge.

IN the month Nisan of the Varronian year 786, which was that of the crucifixion, ended the 70th prophetic week. It therefore began in the same month, 779.

HENCE count forward three years, six months. The operation brings down the reckoning to Tisri, in the centre of that week, when the sacrifice and oblation did virtually cease, being superseded by a more excellent ministry. This revolution signalised the midst of the week, as had expressly been foretold. At its conclusion the whole apparatus of carnal ordinances, which had then lost even their typical virtue, were actually abolished, being nailed to the cross of Christ. One striking circumstance with which the prediction concludes—the destruction of the city and sanctuary—was suspended during the space of about 37 years; that is, a period before the then existing generation should pass away. In that interval the temple and the synagogues were kept open for the disciples of Moses; and thither the apostles resorting weekly on the day of the national sabbath, when the writings of Moses and the prophets were publicly read, did openly allege and prove, one of those scriptures, that Christ must have suffered, and risen from the dead; that this Jesus whom they preached

was

was the Messiah; and that, in condemning him, their rulers had fulfilled all that the voices of the prophets had foretold*. By this providential disposition of things did the temple and synagogues in Judea, and over the wide Roman empire, eventually serve as nurseries for the infancy of the Christian church. Before all the 12 apostles were called to seal their testimony by martyrdom, they had the satisfaction to see the doctrine of the new covenant to be made with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah, widely disseminated by their labours; and the old covenant ratified on Horeb, its ordinances having then become beggarly elements, ready to vanish away†. It is worthy of remark, that, as the first year of Christ's ministry ran parallel with a jubilee in the primitive series from Joshua, so the last began with a sabbatical rest in the secondary series, as restored by Nehemiah. The conclusion is, that the duration of this ministry is defined by a memorable prophecy, and its two terms (commencement and period) ascertained by two national cycles.

It likewise ended with a passover, solemnised at Jerusalem on the very same day of the week and of the moon; which characterised the first observance of this

* Acts, xiii. 27. ch. xv. 12. and ch. xvii. 3.

† Heb. viii. 8-13. Commentators and critics generally assign A. D. 63, (seven years before the desolation of the city and temple by Vespasian), for the date of this epistle. In this view, the mention of the Sinai covenant as superannuated, and about to vanish away, (παλαιούμενον καὶ γερμαίνον, ἵνα γένηται ὁφθαλμοῦ), seems to be prophetical.

festival at Raameses in Egypt. The interval is precisely 1526 solar tropical years from the Exodus, 218 septenary periods of years; and were the intermediate space measured by weeks of days, the sum would be complete, without one day deficient or supernumerary. If the subject be brought to the test of calculation in its numerous and complex forms, all the different operations terminate in one self-consistent and infallible conclusion.

It has been evinced that Jesus was baptised at the expiration of his 34th year. It may be alleged, that the analogy to the legal age of consecrating the Aaronical priests is thus violated. But Christ was a priest of a superior rank, and a distinct order. "It is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood*." He was made under the law, a subject, but not a minister of that very dispensation which he came first to consummate, and then to abrogate. No one instance occurs of his performing the sacerdotal functions of the Hebrew ritual. On the contrary, as often as he performed miraculous cures on the persons of lepers, he always enjoined them to shew themselves to the priests. The objection is on these grounds impertinent.

It has been seriously objected, that Jesus solemnised his last passover neither at the prescribed time nor place, nor at the full moon, but two evenings before, not in the temple, or on the national altar, but in a

* Heb. vii. 14.

private house. It may be added too, that many learned critics have been weak or ridiculous enough to return it a serious answer. The learned Joseph Mede somewhere replies to this effect (though perhaps in different words): "As Christ was himself the temple, the altar, the oblation, and the priest, all these formalities were superseded." This may be approved as a vigorous sentiment, but must be rejected as a feeble answer. Much more proper it is to note, that the ordinance itself was out of date, a new institution being that very night substituted as a memorial of better things. Or rather, as just now hinted, the whole ritual of sacrifice and oblation had virtually ceased at the time of Christ's baptism. This passover was the last act of conformity with the prefigurative ritual. For Jesus, while dispensing that ordinance of substitution, the sacrament of his own body and blood, thus expressed a change of administration already begun: "Verily I say unto you, I will not henceforth drink of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my father's kingdom *."

* Mat. xxvi. 29. Our Lord in these words intimates his intention to partake neither of the passover, nor of the new sacrament, till the things signified by both should be fulfilled in the gospel dispensation, which was nigh at hand; or that he would not partake with them in any joy, till he rejoiced with them in the communications of the Holy Spirit. Macknight's Harmony, 545.

Chronology of HEROD, AUGUSTUS, and TIBERIUS NERO, including that of JESUS CHRIST, from the first JULIAN Year to the Accession of CALIGULA, adjusted to the VARRONIAN Years of ROME.

A. P. J. 4668

Reformation of the Roman Calendar A. M. 3964 3963

1. First Julian year. Tiberius born A. U. Var. 709
2. Julius Cesar assassinated - - - 710
3. Battle at Mutina. First consulate of Octavius - - - 711
4. Defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi 712
6. Antigonus and Herod rival kings in Judea 714
9. Antigonus slain. Herod reigns - 717
10. Battle at Actium - - - 723
16. First year of the Roman empire - 724
18. Census and lustrum restored - - 726
27. Herod begins to rebuild the temple - 735
29. It was made fit for service in two years - 737
38. A second lustrum. Herod dedicates the temple - - - 746
41. Christ born. An enrolment at Bethlehem 749
42. Herod dies. True date of the Christian era 750
45. Dionysian, or Vulgar, year of the Nativity 753
46. First year of the vulgar era - - 754
52. Archelaus dethroned - - - 760
53. Christ 12 years old. Cyrenius levies a tax 761
57. Tiberius joint emperor - - - 765
58. Augustus solemnises a lustrum and dies 766
59. Tiberius

of TIBERIUS NERO.

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59. Tiberius sole emperor. Val. Gratus procurator of Judea	- - -	767
69. Val. Gratus recalled	- - -	777
71. P. Pilate succeeds. 15th of Tiberius. John's ministry begins. Jesus about 30 years old	- - -	779
75. Jesus is baptised, tempted, works miracles, preaches	- - -	783
76. Phlegon's eclipse, in the 4th of the 202d olympiad *	- - -	785
77. Crucifixion	- - -	786
78. Tiberius dies, in the 78th of his life and 23d of his reign	- - -	787

A. M. 4042

Jul. Per. 4747

* This eclipse, as a character of time, is extremely ambiguous. Even the year is uncertain. The fragment preserved by Eusebius runs thus, τῷ δὲ εἴτῃ τῆς 83 Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔγενετο ἐκλειψὶς ἡλίου μεγάλη τῶν ἑγνωσμένων πρότερον, καὶ οὕτως ὥρα ἡ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔγενετο ὥστε καὶ ἀστέραι ἐν οὐρανῷ φάνηται. "But on the (80) year of the 202d olympiad was a very great eclipse of the sun, such as was not formerly known, and night came on at the 6th hour of the day (12 at noon), so that the stars were visible in the firmament."

Such is the vague account of this very strange phenomenon. Bishop Beveridge, making a vain effort to strike a spark out of chaos, proposes an emendation in the first clause. τῷ δὲ εἴτῃ, he changes into τῷ δ' εἴτῃ, so as to transform the particle δὲ, but, into the numerical δ, 4, and thus renders the words, In the 4th year of the 202d olympiad, &c. Admit this correction as

O 4

not

not improbable, still no month and no day of a month is specified. Astronomers are puzzled in the search of a natural eclipse of this luminary at that hour, in a series of years before or after that olympiad. But though this report were marked with more characters of verisimilitude, the 4th of the 203d olympiad was the year before the crucifixion; and these discordant notations of time cannot be brought into the point of coincidence, without either antedating our Lord's birth, or abridging the years of his life. If one or the other be done, all the links which compose the compact chain of chronological characters above constructed, for the history of more than 40 centuries, are violently torn asunder.

In a less advanced stage of calculation, the time was when that preternatural darkness, suppose it did happen at the time of our Lord's passion, obtained the credit of a very striking collateral testimony in confirmation of the gospel history. As such Dr. Clarke considered it, in the first edition of his Sermons, at Boyle's Lecture. In the full persuasion that this corner-stone was sufficient to support any quantity of pressure, that great man set forth the argument, with all the advantage it could derive from his eminent abilities. His friend Dr. Sykes suggested the impropriety of resting the cause of Christianity on equivocal proofs, and prevailed with him to expunge it from the subsequent impressions.

The argument has since been revived, and the testimony of Phlegon vindicated with a needless parade of genius and erudition. In this controversy Dr. Chapman distinguished himself in a manner which might have done service to a better cause; and those who approve his sentiments of the subject, boast that his defence is not yet convicted of weakness or fallacy. It is a very unacceptable service to undeceive such as have fallen into a pleasing reverie. *Si populus decipi vult, decipiatur.* Mean time those who have not yet contracted an insurmountable predilection in favour of Phlegon's authority, are cautioned to withhold their full assent, till it be certain that the
phenomenon

phenomenon under examination was observed on the very day of the crucifixion. Astronomical characters are not to be applied at random. A deep eclipse of that paschal full moon, like that which happened at Raameses on the night of the first passover, could it be certified by calculation, would be much more to the purpose.

Christianity acquires no credit from injudicious defences, and loses no strength from the removal of tottering bulwarks. The time was when the inspiration of the sacred writers was not judged sufficient, except the attribute of infallibility were likewise ascribed to every amanuensis. Printers, however, it was observed, had fallen into some mistakes, and MSS. were not found to agree in every minute circumstance. Critics were cautious of correcting palpable errors, lest they should incur the suspicion of heresy. No sooner was it admitted, that the sacred texts in some passages were faulty, than Freethinkers gave the alarm that uncertainty pervaded all. Bentley, by shewing that the multiplicity of various readings affords the means of restoring the true sense, defeated infidelity by repelling its weapons on itself. Christianity has suffered nothing by the objections of the learned to the credibility of the thundering legion, to the early cessation of miracles in the primitive church, to the vision said to have been exhibited to Constantine, to the defeat of Julian's attempts to rebuild Jerusalem. Nor would the grounds of the Christian faith be shaken, should certain writings, which some visionary critics believe to be canonical, be pronounced spurious.

Genealogy from David to Jesus Christ.

Introduction.

VARIOUS as the parts of nature and the events of time are the subjects of history. Of nature's parts some are stationary, ever in the same position with respect to others, and coexistent with all supposable times, as the Alps, Horeb, Niphates. Another class is partly coexistent and partly successive, as the generations of animals and men; "One generation passeth away, and another cometh; but the earth abideth for ever: the sun also riseth and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to the place where he arose."

HERE is suggested the idea of motion in a perpetual circuit, yet perfectly consistent with permanent and relative rest. The sun revolves on his axis, the planets on theirs; and all round the sun, as the centre of one harmonious system. With respect to this common centre, and to one another, the lesser orbs in the immense expanse are sometimes in a state of approach, sometimes of elongation, and their circumvolutions, though not always equable, are upon the whole uniform: or, in other words, the amount of their motions

from one point of their circuits to the same again, is reducible to a mean quantity.

HISTORY, in its general character, whether traditional or written, implies COMPOSITION—an assemblage of incidents and facts *combined* according to the relations of time, place, and order, and considered as prior, contemporary, or subsequent.

HISTORICAL time is the result of astronomical measures, in their repetitions from one first point in duration, whence planetary motions are supposed to have begun, or from any fixed period generally known.

TIME, in its abstract nature, is one subject of metaphysic. Chronology treats of it in its parts, and their *composition* into an integral quantity, as a year, lunar, solar, sidereal; the mechanism of civil years, in their various forms and dimensions; circulating and fixed periods, national eras, &c.

ALL incidents, as earthquakes and hurricanes; and facts, as the rise and fall of empires, improvement in arts, revolutions in governments, and whatever else merits a place in the records of time, happened SOMEWHERE; in some certain spot of the terraqueous globe; in one of the four regions into which it is divided; in a particular province or city. This criterion derives the attribute of certainty from the identity and permanence of relative distances; as the circumstance of time depends on the uniformity of its natural measures, and instituted modes of computation.

CHRONOLOGY (including the application of astronomy) has been called the life and soul of history, without

without which it is but a confused lump, without form*. Geography assigns to the several parts of history their proper position; the transactions either deriving importance from the place, or the place from the transactions. But farther; all incidents and facts relate to persons, whether individuals or communities, considered as the agents or the passive subjects.

THE principal circumstances of historical facts are therefore three, corresponding to as many queries, with their answers; WHEN, WHERE, to WHOM, or by WHOM were they done?

Examples.

1. WHEN was the law promulgated? In the beginning of the 26th century from the creation.

2. WHERE? From Mount Sinai or Horeb in Arabia.

3. TO WHOM? To the 12 tribes of Israel, under the ministry of Aaron and Moses.

NOTATIONS of time, place, and personages, if not entered in records, are soon disfigured by report, and must at last sink into utter oblivion. But on the more important, history confers immortality. Communities, like individuals, die, and the race becomes immortal by succession. Generations pass in a train †.

THUS is acquired an additional resource in computation, whence history derives congruity with invariable

* Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacre, B. i. 6.

† Ergo ipsas quamvis angusti terminus ævi
Excipiat, genus immortale manet. Virg. Georg. iv. 208.

nature,

nature, and chronological characters. Sir Isaac Newton was the first of the moderns who applied, with success, this middle term for discoveries from the heterogeneous fragments of pagan mythology. It is now too late to regret that he did not examine by this test the chronology and history of the Bible. The happy result, had the experiment been tried, must have been an acquisition to sacred literature. An instance or two of what might have been done will suffice.

Example, 1.

ACCORDING to the Hebrew text and our public version, the sons of Joseph were Manasseh and Ephraim*. In the Greek translation, Machir, a son of Manasseh, and Gilead, a son of Machir; together with Sutalaam and Taam, two sons of Ephraim, and Edom, a son of Sutalaam, are expressed by their names in the register of Jacob's family who accompanied him from Canaan. In an age when the chronology of that vague, licentious version is held in superior estimation to the original, the defence of the Hebrew genealogies may perhaps expect a cool reception. Let the merits of the two authorities be weighed in an equal balance.

"Joseph was 30 years old when he interpreted Pharaoh's dreams. His two sons were born before the years of famine came †." This is a shrewd intimation that they were young. From the dungeon was Joseph hastily brought in unto Pharaoh. Is it probable that

* Gen. xli. 20.

† Gen. xli. 46. 50.

a young

a young stranger and a slave, committed to prison under a false charge of criminality, should have married the high priest's daughter; and thus contract affinity with that very family whose honour, it was unjustly said, he had attempted to stain, before his introduction to the king? Common sense remonstrates. Joseph's age in the second year of the famine, when Manasseh could not be more than eight years old, or Ephraim more than seven, was 39. But Jacob at the end of that, or the beginning of the next year, brought their sons and grandsons into Egypt! Where could the translators find the names? Not in the list of Moses, but in a much more recent catalogue*.

Example, 2.

BENJAMIN, it is well known, was the youngest of all Jacob's family, and his age at the migration from Canaan could not exceed 24, (if it were so much), yet 10 of his sons are said, in the Hebrew text and Greek Vulg. to have been in Jacob's retinue. The Alexandrine Gr. Pentateuch admits only three for sons, Bela, Beeher, and Ashbel. Of the other six, five are grandsons and one great grandson. Kennicot, in all his Dissertations, seems not to have observed the difficulty; which shews that the printed and manuscript copies are all uniformly erroneous. The error is manifest, for the last six names are all copied from catalogues of a later

* 1 Chron. vii. 14. 26.

date *. How can the critics account for the corruption of the Hebrew text? It has unhappily escaped the sagacity of the far greater number. Natural is the conjecture, that some scribe or owner of a copy, without the least design of an interpolation, might mark on the margin of Gen. xlv. 21, notes of reference to parallel passages. Another afterwards suspecting a deficiency in the numbers, and thinking the correction proper and necessary, might take the grandsons into the text.

OTHER instances of words, numbers, or sentences, left out, interpolated, or changed, by accident, or by officious and unskilful hands, from the motive of emendation, it were easy to produce. Those selected in the ensuing chapters relate solely to the subject of genealogy, and are such as may be reconciled with the course of nature, by restoring numerical signatures of a similar figure, for which those now extant in the original texts, seem to have been by mistake substituted.

IN notations of number, the sacred writings alone are not reprehensible. Who could imagine that all the Roman historians, in and after the age of Augustus, should, as above remarked, add two full years to the short space between the birth and death of Tiberius

* See 1 Chron. vii. 6. and ch. viii. 1. See also Num. xxi. 38—41. and Wall's Note on Gen. xlv. 21. At the time of the muster in the wilderness, the number of Benjamin's descendants might be 46,600, but he could not have one grandson at the descent into Egypt.

Nero? That some of them did take notice of a com-
partnership in sovereignty; but none made the requisite
deduction? That all defined accurately the last current
year of that prince's life, and all mistook that of his
nativity and decease? That they left on record the
means of ascertaining the true computation? And that
the evangelist Luke should be the only writer of that
age who characterised, with chronological precision, the
15th of that reign from its true commencement?

IN expressing the degrees of kindred, the sacred his-
torians, conformably with the idiom of their language,
use considerable latitude. Any descendant was not
improperly denominated of the first descent. Ezra,
after at least four intermediate generations, is described
as a son of Seraiah; and the infirm woman on whom
Jesus performed a miraculous cure was, after an interval
of thrice 14 generations, called a daughter of Abraham*.
Sometimes even a senior relation, by a political or figu-
rative sonship, is accounted the immediate descendant of
a junior predecessor in office, as in the case of Zede-
kiah, who is promiscuously called the father's brother;
the brother, and the son of Jeconiah†. Among the
Hebrews, succession to the same throne was equivalent
to adoption. From the penury of their language the
Old Testament writers could not, with sufficient mi-
nuteness, distinguish by one appropriate term every ra-
mification in genealogy.

* Ezra, vii. 1. Luke, xiii. 16.

† 2 Kings, xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. and 1 Chron. iii. 16.

So copious however was the Roman tongue, that every degree of consanguinity and alliance by marriage, both in the transverse and direct line, might have been discriminated by a proper and separate word. Yet even their best historians are not exempt from inaccurate notations of relationship. One example shall suffice.

The two Tarquins.

“TRADITION and history said, that Superbus was the son of Priscus;—that Superbus fought on horseback at the battle of Regillus; that Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was the son of Egerius, nephew of the elder Tarquin. No, says Dionysius, none of these things can be true; for they are not consistent with the long reigns of the kings. He produces no authority against the facts; nor does he know who was the father of Superbus, or the father of Collatinus. But he reasons from the received chronology, and concludes, contrary to all historical testimony, that Superbus was not the son but the grandson of Priscus;—that he did not fight on horseback at the above-mentioned battle; and that Collatinus was not the son, but the grandson of Egerius.”

“LIVY, on the other hand, though he durst not openly contradict the received chronology, seems to have been fully persuaded that it was not so well vouched as many historical facts, with which it was incompatible. He therefore adheres to the facts, and leaves it to such notable critics as Dionysius to re-

concile them with the chronology as well as they can *."

HERE now is a *dignus vindice nodus*; a knotty point brought to the tribunal of criticism for decision. Be it in general observed, that Hooke grossly misrepresents Livy, who with his usual hesitation in matters of very remote antiquity, expresses his uncertainty whether L. Tarquin were the son or grandson of Priscus, without signifying either approbation or censure of the popular chronology †: nor does this author combat the more decisive opinion of Dionysius in the spirit of impartial arbitration, but rather with the violence and skill of an expert gladiator.

FOR his determination Dionysius assigns very apposite reasons, which seem to be founded on the report of authentic history, then but not now extant; and his ultimate inference is deduced with every criterion of conscious sincerity and truth.

THIS Atalys has exceeded its ideal boundaries. Dionysius points the whole of his artillery against Fabius Pictor, whose Roman History is long since lost. The arguments of his opponent (Dionysius) must therefore be compressed into the least prolix form of abbrevi-

* Hooke's Rom. Hist. octavo, Pref. p. 61. Here is no reference to the passages of the authors whose testimony is detailed. Consult Dion. Halicarnass. book iv, ch. vi. vol. ii. p. 133, in Spelman's Translation; and T. Livius, lib. i. cap. 46.

† Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposque fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim. loc. cit.

viation. The introductory sentence it is, however, proper to transcribe at large.

“ I HAVE suspended the narration of what follows that I may give the reasons which induced me to disagree with Fabius, and the rest of the historians, who affirm, that the infants Tarquinius (Priscus) left were the sons and not the grandsons of that prince; for those writers have very inconsiderately and negligently published this account, without examining any of the impossibilities and absurdities which destroy its truth; every one of which I shall endeavour to point out in a few words.”

THIS author's work, no less valuable as a treasury of Roman antiquities than as a regular history from Romulus to the 312th Varronian year, may in this case be admitted to have the authority of a genuine record. It testifies that Priscus, with his wife and family, came to Rome, according to Gellius, in the first, or according to Licinnius in the eighth, of Ancus Marcius, whose reign was 24 years;—that his age, at the latter term, could not be under 25, and all agree that he reigned 38. He must by this reckoning have died at the age of 80; or by the former, 88. Suppose his wife to have been five years younger than himself, she was 75 or 83 at his death. Their three sons could not then be infants; for suppose the youngest born in the 50th of his mother's life, he was at the least 25 at the death of his father, and the eldest (Superbus) 27. He is said to have been in the vigour of life when he slew Servius Tullius, after a reign of 44 years; and indeed it

required vigour to drag the sovereign from his throne, carry him in his arms out of the senate, and throw him down the stairs. Superbus reigned 25 years, and $27 + 44 + 25 = 96$: at which advanced age he was expelled. But still, as the report goes, his activity was unabated; for the same year he presided in the war against the Ardeates, and during 24 years more conducted in person a long train of military operations against the new republic. Thus, according to the historians, whose authority this writer rejects, Superbus lived above 110 years. On the whole, Dionysius agrees with Piso Frugi, in affirming that Superbus and his brothers were not the sons, but the grandsons of Priscus. This conclusion divests of credibility the opinion to which Livy inclines, but does not, in plain terms, assert. In one respect however the two accounts are consistent: for if Collatinus were a nephew, Superbus might be a grandson, of the first Tarquin.

Examination of Mr. Hooke's Hypothesis.

As a strenuous advocate for Sir I. Newton's opinion, concerning the duration of the regal state in Rome, he delivers that opinion in detached parts, and in the respectable author's own words. Suspecting that Sir Isaac's arguments were not sufficient to make a general impulse on the public, and induce full conviction, he suggests a variety of auxiliary proofs. But if his author's arrangements shall be found equivocal, elusory, or incongruous with his own fundamental principles, they

they must be set aside, as indefensible. These principles are thus concisely stated.

"THE 14 kings of the Latines, at 22 years apiece one with another, amount unto 280 years, and these years, counted from the taking of Troy, end in the 38th olympiad*." Thus are 432 years reduced to 280: "and the seven reigns of the kings of Rome, four or five of them being slain, and one deposed, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to 15 or 16 years apiece one with another; let them be reckoned at 17 apiece, and they will amount to about 119 years; which being counted backwards from the Regifuge, end also in the 38th olympiad: and by these two reckonings Rome was built in the 38th olympiad, or thereabout." Historians assign to the seven kings a period of 244 years. The deduction from this article is 125, from the other 152, and the sum total 275.

PAINFUL it is to insinuate a disapprobation of the venerable Sir Isaac Newton's postulates and conclusions; much more to pronounce them equivocal and fallacious; but it is unavoidable.

THE 14 kings of the Latins belong to the fabulous times, prior to the era of a correct chronology, and of authentic history. The duration of their reigns, either separately or collectively, is certainly amplified, as usually was done. But on perusing four different copies of these reigns, by Ovid, Virgil, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy, not to mention others in different re-

* Hooke's Preface, p. 26.

cords, the writer of this Analysis ventures to affirm, that the names, number, order of succession, and years of sovereignty, are in no two registers the same. As, therefore, neither the number of princes, nor the quantity of their distinct governments, can with certainty be defined, an equation is impracticable. But if the precise interval from Latinus to Romulus, that is, from the fall of Troy to the rise of Rome, can be ascertained, let that number of years, whatever it be, fill up the blank, and from this quantity, as better known, the intermediate reigns and generations will be no impracticable discovery.

THE seven reigns from Romulus to the first pair of consuls belong to a different epoch, that of an astronomical chronology and genuine history. The names of the sovereigns are in every record the same, the order of succession the same, the length of each reign the same, and the aggregate sum the same, the space of every interreign, as oft as it happened, the same. Why then should Sir Isaac Newton, by a plausible artifice in computation, confound the historical period with the fabulous?

“SOME of the Greeks,” he observes, “called the times before the reign of Ogyges UNKNOWN, because they had no history of them; those between his flood and the beginning of the olympiads, FABULOUS, because their history was much mixed with poetical fables; and those after the beginning of the olympiads, historical, because their history was free from such fables. The fabulous ages wanted a good chronology; and

and so also did the historical for the first 60 or 70 olympiads *."

THIS is an ambiguous and consequently a questionable criterion. Seventy olympiads make 280 years. To bring the date of authentic history among the gentiles so very low, is to extend the fabulous age so far as to the fifth century nearly before the Christian era. This postulate is not to be admitted. Few histories of indubitable credibility indeed were then published; but the olympiad from its restoration, in the 34th of Uzziah king of Judah, was an infallible term of computation; and facts characterised with this era are not rashly to be pronounced fictitious or false. This is not the proper place for ample discussion. The inquisitive and learned reader is referred to Dr. Musgrave's "Examination of Sir Isaac Newton's Objections to the Chronology of the Olympiads †."

THE arrangements in "The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended," are not only equivocal and elusive, but inconsistent with the author's own fundamental principles. For instance,

"CARTHAGE was destroyed in the consulship of Lentulus and Mummus, A. P. J. 4568." This was the Varronian year of Rome 608. A term in computation once assumed, for fixing the date of any other historical incident, ought not to be transferred to any other point of time; because the source of reckoning, if changed,

* Ancient Chronology amended, page 44.

† Lond. 1782, octavo.

misplaces the date of the incident resting on that basis. Sir Isaac Newton ascribes to Carthage an existence of 130 years prior to the foundation of Rome, in the third year of the sixth olympiad. But if that foundation be brought lower by 130 years, neither the rise nor fall of Carthage is determined. This arbitrary shifting of terms is a sort of legerdemain in chronology.

To bring discredit on the long reigns from Romulus to the second Tarquin, Sir Isaac Newton remarks, "In the latter ages since chronology hath been exact, there is scarcely an example of ten kings reigning any where in continual succession, above 260 years:" that is, 26 years the mean quantity. But Whiston, as quoted by Hooke, in his "Confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology," observes, that in England we have had NINE successive reigns, at almost 30 years apiece, from Henry I. to Edward III.

TWELVE, at almost 28 years each, from William the Conqueror to Richard II.

THE French have had six reigns together, at almost 40 years apiece, from Robert to Philip II.

EIGHT reigns, at above 35 years apiece, from Robert to Lewis IX.

TEN reigns, almost 33 years apiece, from Robert to Philip IV.

Mr. Hooke is so very candid as to confess, "Now I think it must be granted, that the examples which Mr. Whiston has produced of long reigns in succession, both in England and in France, would be sufficient to make it credible, that the seven kings of Rome

reigned

reigned as long as they are reported to have done, if there were no objection to this report, but its being uncommon to find, in authentic and undisputed history, seven kings reigning in succession 35 years, one with another*." He produces, however, four reasons of dissent, set forth with a fair shew of plausibility; but they are nugatory.

WHEN monarchy was exchanged for the consulate, no great care was taken to preserve the memorials of arbitrary power. The palace and temple of Numa acquired veneration; but even the very name of the Tarquine family was transmitted with marks of infamy. Much stronger was the desire of consigning the whole race to oblivion, than of perpetuating their names in the order of lineal succession. Though the people, immediately after the revolution, decreed the restoration of Tarquin's private estates to his relations; yet the senate destroyed his palace, and distributed his lands among the needy citizens, retaining for public use a small portion of a field only, adjoining to the *Campus Martius*, which the King had, by usurpation, added to his private property. Collatinus, that virtuous and brave patriot, finding suspicion and jealousy attached inseparably to his family and name, took the moderate expedient of retiring into private life, even before the expiration of the first consulship. The records of the old kings in Latium, and those also of the second series from Romulus, were lost in the conflagration of the

* Hooke's Pref. p. 29.

capitol,

capitol, so early as the second century of the republic. Hence the numerous complaints of imperfect and penurious materials in the Augustan age, for constructing a full and continuous history of the early times.

AFTER an equal period of time from the dissolution of the late monarchy in France, should the rage for annihilating every reliet of arbitrary government continue; should accidents and violence make alike havoc of public archives;—it may fairly be presumed, six centuries hence, that antiquaries and critics will divide into parties concerning the genealogy of the French monarchs from 1610 to 1774. In this interval of 164 years, from the murder of Henry IV. to the accession of Louis XVI. only three sovereigns occupied successively that throne, the mean proportion of as many reigns being 54 years eight months. Those numerous and bulky volumes, which now have for their subject the story of a single reign, or of one kingdom, will then shrink into little abstracts, with very concise hints of family descents and dates. Serious controversies may then be agitated, whether the uncommon length of those three reigns ought not, as incredible, to be reduced, or the intermediate generations multiplied.

THIS example seems directly applicable to the present disquisition. Sir Isaac Newton, in order to authenticate his scheme of retrenching 125 years from the regal government, prior to the republic, endeavours, by a like effort of ingenuity, to invalidate the chronology of the first 60 or 70 olympiads. If this arrangement be adopted, it will be altogether impossible to connect,
by

by infallible synchronisms, the profane history with the sacred, and to reconcile any one national era of the gentile world with another.

THE Julian period comprehends all other terms in computation, whether circulating or fixed. This, therefore, is the regulating measure and ultimate test to which not only the first, but all the subsequent years of the olympiads, of Rome, Nabonassar, the Seleucidæ, and those of the world, must be adjusted.

THE number of the Julian period 3937, coincident with A. M. 3232, and the 34th of Uzziah king of Judah, is not the first year of the first olympiad, but the exclusive source of computation. That year was bissextile, a character common to the last or fourth of every olympiad, and consequently A. P. J. 3938, and A. M. 3233, was the first of the first olympiad.

THE building of Rome was begun in the third of the sixth olympiad A. P. J. 3960, A. M. 3255, the 5th of Jotham king of Judah, and the first of Romulus, the year before the Varronian computation, first Jan. A. P. J. 3961.

IN A. P. J. 3967, A. M. 3262, the 12th of Jotham, the 7th of Romulus, the 6th Varronian year, and the second year of the 8th olympiad, began the famous era of Nabonassar, by which Ptolemy reckoned the years of the four Pagan empires.

THUS, by a multiplicity of chronological characters, is a firm basis laid for computation in the descending series indefinitely. But remove the source of the olympiads almost three centuries lower, and that of Rome

125 years, the chain of chronology is broken, connecting numbers misplaced, and historical order involved in a labyrinth of perplexity and confusion inextricable.

THAT 34th year of Uzziah was the 202d of the 390 from the apostacy of the ten tribes, and 88th before the conflagration of the temple, A. P. J. 4126, A. M. 3421, Er. Nab. 160. This conflagration was the first of the 46th olympiad, the year before the archonship of Philombrotus: the 166th Varronian year, and the 29th of Tarquinius Priscus. But by two bold anachronisms in the "Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended," is the connexion of the sacred history with that of Greece and Rome, deferred not only without necessity, but contrary to authentic evidence.

To no purpose does Mr. Hooke pretend that we have no better authority for the long reigns of the seven kings in Rome, than for the long reigns of the 14 kings of Alba, their predecessors. The reverse has been established. The very existence of many in the latter class is doubtful; whereas the existence of all the kings subsequent to Numitor, is much more fully confirmed than that of many pairs of consuls under the republic.

EQUALLY frivolous are the reasons urged for abbreviating the reigns of the sovereigns after Numitor. The history of the longest reigns, and of the most active princes, may be comprised within very narrow limits, if the records of the times were destroyed or little known, except the names of magistrates and the duration

ration of their offices ; which, it is admitted, was the case in the early ages both of Greece and Rome.

ON the whole, this defender of Sir Isaac Newton is more sanguine than judicious. His primary object was to abridge the chronology of the regal state in Rome to an agreement with a retrenched and mutilated genealogy. But the historical evidence is much stronger, nay decisively certain in favour of an additional generation between Priscus and Superbus. Mr. Hooke argued fallaciously. By setting Livy and Dionysius at variance, he artfully tried to set aside the arrangement of both. But a minute examination of their testimony invalidates the postulates and conclusions of Sir Isaac Newton.

If these remarks should be deemed rather diffuse, they exemplify the subservience of genealogy to the truth of computation, and the orderly form of history. By inserting them here the subjects of the ensuing chapters, being in part anticipated, will the more concisely be discussed.

C H A P. I.

SECOND SERIES OF XIV. GENERATIONS.

IN the ages prior to David, the spaces between descents in families have been ascertained in the order of occurrence; their application to chronology and history having been necessary only in certain emergent circumstances. Henceforth the chronologer, if he regulate his procedure with a due regard to generations, finds thorns in his way at every step. David, the last of the first series from Abraham, was born, as already noted, in the 10th of Saul, succeeded him at 30, and after a reign of 40, died, leaving his throne and honours to

1. *Salomon.*

IN the history of his life, the date of his birth is not defined; neither the time of his accession, nor the years of his life. The duration of his reign over all Israel (40 years) is twice recorded*: and hence, perhaps, all the other notations may with tolerable certainty be inferred. In the progressive series this discovery, as important, is desirable. Another biographical article,

* 1 Kings, xi. 42. and 2 Chron. ix. 30.

intimately

timately connected with the history of the times, has an immediate reference not only to his single reign, but to the ensuing generations in the lineal descents;—the date of his defection from wisdom.—All these circumstances are so inseparably implicated with the subsequent reign, that a separate disquisition would be the source of many unavoidable repetitions; to prevent which it is requisite to consider two complex subjects as one.

2. *Rehoboam.*

“HE was 41 years old at his accession*.” This notation ill accords with every circumstance by which Solomon’s age is in general terms described at the time of his father’s decease. At that crisis which brought timidity and courage to the hour and theatre of conflict, the young prince [Solomon] overpowered by an accumulation of new honours, and arduous services, which required a vigorous mind improved by the habits of mature experience, he called himself “a little child†.” This phrase is admissible as a becoming expression of humility, not as a determinate chronological character.

JOSEPHUS, depending either on a conjecture of his own, or on vague tradition, affirms that Solomon was then but a youth in age‡; and as he expresses no number, it may be presumed that he meant a term

* 1 Kings, xiv. 28. 2 Chron. xii. 13.

† 1 Kings, iii. 7.

‡ Ant. viii. 1. 1.

under fulness of stature. Afterward he says, that this prince died a very old man, having reigned 80 and lived 94 years *. Hence it is obvious, that the great Jewish historian supposed that Solomon ascended the throne at the age of 14. But the canonical records allow but 40 years for the length of his reign; and if this quantity be deducted from his term of life, he must have died at the age of 54. Deduct 41 years for Rehoboam's age at his accession, the surplus 13, for the age of the father, is incompatible by deficiency with the usual term of procreation. In computation, a double genealogical paradox, relative to an individual, must be reprobated †. If Solomon lived 94 years, this protracted term is not classed with physical impossibilities; but is inconsistent with implicit characters in the history of Solomon. Upon his choice of wisdom, as the crown of human excellence and the best gift of essential goodness, absolute was the promise of riches and honours, together with the fullest measures of human wisdom; not so that of long life. To this secondary blessing was annexed the condition of continuance in doing well. Solomon's degeneracy was remarkable, nearly resembling the fall of Lucifer; and it is scarcely supposable that Heaven would reward his egregious defection with a length of days prolonged to a period then unusual. For many reasons reserved for their

* Ant. viii. 7. 7.

† No example of a child born before the 16th of a father's life, has it been found proper to admit in the Bible history, and in this case it may easily be avoided.

proper

proper place, it is expedient to enlarge the number of his years, both at the time of Rehoboam's birth, and that of his own death.

USHER allows 18 years for Solomon's age at his accession. This arrangement incurs no objection from the foregoing history. But the chronology of the times admits, nay the course of nature requires, that his nativity be placed a little higher, to prevent, as much as possible, embarrassment and perplexity in the sequel of the genealogical series.

THIS date depends entirely on the time when Uriah fell by the sword of the Ammonites, then at war with the armies of Israel; and the rise of that war may, with historical consistency, be supposed two years earlier than the date assigned in the Annals.

By this adjustment of events and numbers, Solomon was born in the 20th of David's reign, and the 50th of his life. The son consequently began to reign in the 20th of his own age. But here a train of perplexities sets computation at defiance. He died in the 60th of his life. Hence deduct the 41 years of Rehoboam, the residue denotes the 19th of Solomon. From the course of nature no incredible or absurd consequence ensues. But the history both of the father and the son remonstrates. With the two original texts specifying the age of the son, almost every ancient version agrees, and the few variations afford no probable solution. Though the notations of number are uniform, consent is uniformity in error. Many and forcible reasons induce the belief, that the original notes of

number have accidentally been enlarged. Of these reasons some affect the character of Solomon.

Rehoboam's Mother was an Ammonitess.

“AN Ammonite and a Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even unto their 10th generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever.” The reason is assigned: “Because they met you not with bread and with water in the way;—and because they had hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor to curse thee *.”

THIS law was an absolute prohibition without exception of persons, or limitation of time. The *tenth generation*, and *for ever*, are interchangeable terms, as is evident from the dissolution of such marriages in the days of Nehemiah, more than 1000 years, that is, 30 generations after the passage over Jordan. This prince is on that occasion named, not without a peculiar mark of infamy. “Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? even him did outlandish women cause to sin †.”

REHOBAM, if his age be accurately defined, was one year old at the death of David, who certainly would not have approved this gross violation of a divine statute, so peremptorily forbidden. In his last charge to Solomon, the character is set forth as pure without a stain. He is exhorted not to reform, but to persevere. But this one deviation from rectitude, had it been

* Deut. xxiii. 3. 4.

† Neh. xiii. 26.

known,

known, must have incurred reprehension, or at least been marked, as an exception to that excellent character, which is expressed without abatement, "Thou art a wise man *."

PRESUMED it may be that this illicit connexion was concealed from the aged sovereign. But that it was a connexion of a subsequent date, may reasonably be inferred from the unreserved approbation of the divine Being intimated to the young prince, first at Gibeon, and repeated after the dedication of the temple †. The result of these observations is, that Rehoboam was not born in the lifetime of David, neither before the dedication of the temple; and so was not 41 years old at the demise of Solomon. This position derives credibility from circumstances recorded in his own history. "Rehoboam having rejected the salutary advice of the *old men*, who stood before his father while he yet lived, consulted with the young men, who were grown up with him, and stood before him; and said unto them, What advice give ye? And the young men spake unto him, &c. ‡" Both the requisition and the answer favoured more of juvenile precipitation than of mature experience. All seem to have been under age, without either the understanding of men, or the simplicity of children. In that age of time men were not denominated *young*, at or after 40.

AGAIN, Abijah his son, as soon as seated on the throne, thus expostulated with Jeroboam king of Israel,

* 1 Kings, iii. 9.

† 1 Kings, iii. 5. and ix. 1.

‡ 1 Kings, xii. 6—10.

and his faction. "Vain men, the children of Belial strengthened themselves against Rehoboam, when he, being young and tender-hearted, could not withstand them." If this apology insinuated inexperience or a defect of intellectual vigour, it was improper, and scarcely consistent with decorum and filial regard: if literally to be understood of premature age, the censure was apposite and pointed. This notation is more decisive than the other, and both, superadded to the former remarks, induce the opinion, that Rehoboam's age was not 41 at the death of his father.

Time of Solomon's Defection.

HIS connexion with strange women, and the birth of a son by an Ammonitess before the expiration of his 19th year, are, if admitted, incontrovertible proofs of early depravity. But this presumption vanishes, when it is considered that the divine approbation, subsequent to the dream and vision at Gibeon, justifies the inference, that his heart was then pure from every habit of licentiousness, and from the pride of life. "Froward thoughts separate from God; for into a malicious soul WISDOM shall not enter, neither dwell in a body enslaved unto sin. The holy spirit of discipline will flee from deceit, and remove from thoughts without understanding †." A sudden transition from the vigour of good principles and habits, especially if they be the acquisition of early life, to the lowest sink of sensuality,

* 2 Chron. xiii. 6. 7.

† Wisdom of Solomon, i. 3-5.

is scarcely conceivable. This sublime model of human excellence, like many inferior characters, degenerated, by slow imperceptible degrees, into folly and vice : and this immoral familiarity with the Ammonitess might have been the very first step towards apostacy. At whatever time he arrived at the last stage of his fatal career in wickedness, the birth of Rehoboam cannot be supposed prior to the dedication of the temple. Neither can its date be brought much lower. If he were 31 years old at his accession, his nativity will coincide with the 9th of his father's reign, the very year of the dedication ; but this arrangement is at variance with the gracious communications and promises vouchsafed, when the Lord appeared to him the second time, as at Gibeon formerly *. On that occasion motives to stability were enforced, without the least reference to past misconduct. It must however be granted, that no time much later can, consistently with the subsequent series of genealogy, be assigned for Rehoboam's birth. If it be brought forward to the 24th of the father's reign, when he had finished the temple and his own palace ; the son must have succeeded to the crown in his 16th year, which early age seems to accord with those accounts, already quoted, of his youth and tenderness of heart. But the arguments on the opposite side preponderate.

1. REHOBAM must have died in his 33d year :—a conclusion incongruous with the few years and nu-

* 1 Kings, ix. 2—9.

merous family of his son Abijah. Afa too must have been born in the infancy of Abijah, and Jehoshaphat in the infancy of Afa; in like manner Jehoram in the infancy of Jehoshaphat, and Ahaziah in the infancy of Jehoram. These natural reasons are insurmountable, while those of the moral kind subsist in their invariable nature and full force; for

2. THE 24th of Solomon was that very year in which he had finished the Lord's house and his own house. The same was the date of the second appearance, like unto the first at Gibeon. In both, the testimony of the divine acceptance was absolute; in both the stability of the kingdom was the condition of stability in obedience. No admonitions to reformation are implied, because no instances of past provocation are expressed. Yet certainly Solomon's connexion with the Ammonites, (whether by wedlock or by concubinage, it matters not, for both were strictly forbidden), was of a prior date. Here is a horned argument, which pushes both ways, and both ways with equal force.

EXCEPT the idea above suggested, of a gradually slow progress in degeneracy, no other expedient for eluding the *whole result* of the objection occurs. As apostacy, no less than advances to perfection, has its imperceptible stages, so the distinction between immoral acts in an individual, and those which affect the functions of a public character, seems not improper. David, in his private capacity, derived an indelible stain from his conduct towards a private family. This is the sole exception to the glorious character given after his death;

death: "He did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from any thing which the Lord commanded him all the days of his life, save *only* in the matter of Uriah *." One honourable ingredient in his regal department is, an invariable attachment to purity of worship, and uniform opposition to all idolatrous rites. In this view David was always set forth as the pattern of Solomon's imitation. "If thou wilt walk in my ways, to keep my statutes and commandments, as thy father David did walk, &c. †" In the event of provocations in private conduct, personal chastisements were denounced; but should the sovereign, or his children, turn aside and serve other gods, the kingdom was to be divided, and Israel to be cut off out of the land.

ADMIT that Solomon had begun his fatal intercourse with strange women about the time the temple was finished, or even a little before, yet was he on the verge of senility before his many wives turned away his heart after other gods ‡; and his reign had nearly expired before the prophet was sent to announce the division of the kingdom, after his decease §. This message, with a brief account of his seeking to kill Jeroboam, concludes the history of Solomon's life and reign.

IN some intermediate period must Rehoboam have been born, neither so early as the exit of David, nor long after the dedication of the temple; for at his ac-

* 1 Kings, xv. 5.

‡ 1 Kings, xii. 4.

† 1 Kings, iii. 14. and ix. 4—10.

§ 1 Kings, xi. 31. 40.

cession, such a number of years must be allowed as may be sufficient to regulate the ensuing genealogies by the course of nature. For this end 27 years are fully adequate, On the highest probability, therefore, may the nativity of Rehoboam be put in connexion with the 33d year of his father's life, the 13th of his reign, the 10th from the foundation of the temple, and the very year after it was dedicated *.

EVERY judicious reader, who accurately compares all circumstances recorded in the sacred history concerning this very mixed character, will be convinced, that the observations both of Whiston and his author, are incapable of a full confirmation. For, 1. Each proceeds on the romantic hypothesis that Solomon reigned 80, and lived 94 years. 2. That Hadad began

* This is a proper place for inserting a strange reverie of Whiston in two notes on Josephus. " Since the beginning of Solomon's evil and wicked life, and adversity, was at the time when Hadad, or Ader, who was born at least 20 or 30 years before Solomon came to the crown, in the days of David, began to give him disturbance; this implies that Solomon's evil life began early and continued very long, which the multitude of his wives and concubines does plainly imply also: I suppose when he was not 50 years of age.—The youth of Jeroboam, when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, not very long after he had finished his 20 years in building the temple, and his own palace, or not very long after the 24th of his reign, and his youth still here mentioned, when Solomon's wickedness was become intolerable, fully confirm my former observation, that such his wickedness began early, and continued very long."—Whiston's Josephus, Ant. viii. 7. 6—8.

to give him disturbance immediately after the death of David; whereas that disturbance is expressly referred to Solomon's old age. 3. Jeroboam is characterised as a young man in a very late period of Solomon's reign. 4. Long after Solomon's two great buildings, in the 24th year from the death of David, he shone in the full possession of wisdom, piety, patriotism, and renown. In a former sheet of this Analysis, p. 68, are the authorities collected. 5. Neither Josephus, nor his translator, distinguish as they ought, and as the sacred historian had very properly done before them, between the idolatry and other immoralities of this prince. 6. Highly probable it is, that the message denounced by the prophet, concerning the partition of the kingdom, was the first providential circumstance which led Solomon to repentance. 7. That he became a genuine penitent is naturally inferred from his experimental reflexions on the vanity and vexation arising from sensuality and the pride of life:—reflexions which would not so readily occur to a mind, inebriated with the high-fashioned elegancies of corporeal pleasure; neither could he, without excess in their use, describe them with such painful compunction; much less resolve the chief good of man into obedience and the fear of God. These are not the sentiments of a voluptuary pursuing the wild career of vicious indulgence. 8. Though 40 years be taken from his reign, yet strong are the probabilities that he did not become licentious in the extreme, till after he was 50 years old. He died in the
beginning

beginning of his 60th year, some time after Jeroboam removed into Egypt, whence his reformation has been dated. The general inference is, that his defection was neither early, nor of long continuance.

THUS is rectified an egregious mistake of numerical signatures, not by similar figures of different value, not by parallel texts, not by various readings in original copies, ancient versions, quotations, rash conjectures, &c. but by evidence much more decisive, the harmony of historical circumstances, and the uniform process of nature. Rehoboam, at the age of 27, might properly be said to have been not only the companion of young men, but young and tender-hearted.

Harmer's Criticism.

THIS very ingenious author maintains the common opinion, and hence derives inferences destructive of his own scheme. "It appears from the age of Rehoboam, that Solomon was married before his coming to the crown; whereas this affinity with Pharaoh's daughter was made some time after; and from this song [THE CANTICLES] it appears, that he not only was married, but had several wives of the highest rank, as well as many who were called concubines, at the time of those nuptials which this song celebrates, ch. vi. 8.

"THE first wife of every eastern prince is, and was wont to be considered, as the principal, and whatever addition was made to the number of their wives who had dowry, they usually preserved their prerogatives :
yet

yet it might not be impossible to remove such a one from her dignity *."

FACILITY of conjecture may be attained with little trouble, and employed to little purpose. It is here assumed that Solomon was married, and his successor born, before he came to the crown. No attempt is tried to ascertain the age of the young monarch. Whether it were 14, 18, 20, or more or less, than any of these numbers, the author regards not. It is enough to affirm, that Solomon was married, and had a son, before his affinity with the princess-royal of Egypt. All this is surmise, not evidence. It is nowhere said, that Maacah, the Ammonitess, was married to Solomon. If she were, the connection was, by the laws of the kingdom, null and void. As she was an alien, incapable of rank and preeminence, (as a matron or queen in Israel), by a particular act of exclusion, all her prerogatives could have no existence but in the fertile fancy of a poetical antiquary. By the same licence of fiction too, Rehoboam was born before his father was invested with royalty. This position seems to rest on the authority of two texts, which, brought to the test of sound criticism, are found to express erroneous numbers. The princess of Egypt was it seems not the first or principal wife of Solomon; but though she was not, the other, to whom these prerogatives belonged, might possibly be removed from her dignity. It is not as-

* Outlines of a Commentary on Solomon's Song, drawn by the aid of Instructions from the East, p. 52, 53.

ferred, that Maacah, like Vashti, was dismissed with the formalities of a divorce. For the ingenious author proceeds:

"I AM supposing that she [the first and principal queen of Solomon] was an Israelitess," p. 65. Neither is it affirmed, that this Israelitess was degraded to make way for Pharaoh's daughter. No such thing. Mr. Harmer rather thinks "that a prince, so remarkable for finding expedients, might reconcile jarring interests by an equal division of honours."—Here again is a fable, but not cunningly devised. The existence of this Israelitess, and her actual espousals, also her priority of time, and preeminence in rank, ought to have been ascertained. If the prince had the peculiar address to balance with dexterity the etiquette of court honours, his skill seems to have forsaken him in this instance. For from the surface of the poem it is obvious, that jealousy and envy are the prominent qualities of the female interlocutors. Equality of honours was incompatible with the supremacy of ONE. Even the catastrophe does not reconcile *jarring interests*.

THE plan or construction of the poem plainly intimates, that Solomon, by marrying a foreign princess of Ham's swarthy family, had given offence to the virgin daughters of Zion. She, apprehensive of discouragement from this circumstance, makes such apposite apologies, as might prevent unfavourable impressions. "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me." Complexion is thus properly resolved

resolved into the influence of climate. That darkness of hue was no exception to Solomon's choice, whose generous love overlooked the exterior distinctions of colour and form. This stranger-queen expresses everywhere conjugal affection in its purest ardours, and complacency in its sublimest transports. The daughters of Jerusalem, though moved with jealousy and envy, preserve the decorum suitable to connubial solemnities, yet obliquely insinuate hints disrespectful to the prince: "What is thy beloved more than another beloved, O thou fairest among women? What is thy beloved more than another beloved, that thou dost so charge us?"

THE fundamental idea of the poem seems to be, the contempt and enmity of the Jews towards the Gentiles, when the latter were received into an equal participation of privileges with the former. Long before the days of Solomon had this event been foretold in the oracles of prophecy: "I will move them to jealousy with those who are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation *." This prediction is fully verified in the four gospels, and in the acts of the apostles. The jealousy and anger of the Jews impelled them to all the wild extremes of persecution; for they considered Christ, his apostles, and the disciples of both, as blasphemers against Moses, against the temple, and against God; and all, as many of their own nation as had become profelytes to the Christian faith, they pronounced apostates. Such seems to be primary senti-

* Deut. xxxii. 21.

ment, and ultimate truth, adumbrated in this beautiful allegory.

To the establishment of this conclusion it is not necessary with Mr. Harmer to suppose, that Solomon had espoused an Israelite before Pharaoh's daughter, a conjecture which history does not authorise. The usage of polygamy is foreign to the plan of the poem. Its general subject is not properly Solomon and Christ in their distinct personalities; but the existence of the Jewish church when the princess of Egypt became their queen, and also when Christ came to extend mercy to mankind at large. The particular subject is the resentment of the Jews on both these occasions; the one being an image of the other *.

* "I would advise, that this production be treated according to the established rules in this kind of allegory, fully and expressly delivered in the sacred writings, and that the author be permitted to be his own interpreter. In this respect the errors of critics and divines have been as numerous as they have been pernicious. Not to mention other absurdities, they have taken the allegory, not as denoting the universal state of the church, but the spiritual state of individuals, than which nothing can be more inconsistent with the very nature and ground-work of the allegory itself, as well as with the general practice of the Hebrew poets on these occasions." *Bishop Lowth's Lectures on S. Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 331.

C H A P. II.

Second Series of XIV. Generations continued.

3. *Abijah.*

HIS age, when he assumed the crown and sceptre in Judah, is not defined. It is therefore to be postulated according to physical probability. His father died at the age of 44, as above stated. The only remaining circumstances on which computation must proceed are, that he reigned three years, and died the father of 22 sons and 16 daughters *. For this reason the earliest period of Rehoboam's life, consistent with the age of procreation, is to be admitted as the probable date of the son's birth. In a few instances, it has been necessary to allow but 16 years for the interval of family descents, and this is one of the number. Thus Abijah's age at his accession was 28, and at his death, 31. The only foreseen objection to computation is the number of his children at so early a term of life. It is however obviated by a very seasonable remark of the

* 2 Chron. xiii. 21.

sacred historian. His 38 sons and daughters were by 14 mothers.

4. *Aśa*.

NEITHER is his age, at the time of his investiture with royalty, expressed. The former rule must again be applied. At his father's decease he seems to have been a minor; for it is recorded, "that he removed Maacah his mother from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove*." From the circumstance of her making an idol in a grove, Selden conjectures that she was a priestess of Asheroth, the Astarte of the Phenicians, who had a magnificent temple at Hierapolis in Syria, the same with the Grecian Venus. That she might no longer patronise idolatry in Judah, Aśa, as soon as he came of age, divested her of the regency, after she had held that dignity three years. By this computation he was born in the 18th of his father's life, succeeded him as a minor when 13 years-old, and at the legal age of 16 commenced his personal reign. Josephus says, that this prince, by God's blessing, ob-

* 2-Chron. xv. 16. Concerning her name and natural relation to Aśa, different accounts are given. Maacah is the name of Abijah's mother, 1 Kings, xv. 2. where she is likewise said to have been a daughter of Abisalom. Josephus agrees in both these designations, and adds, that she was a granddaughter of Abisalom by Tamar. She was therefore the granddaughter of Abisalom, and grandmother of Aśa. According to the Hebrew phraseology, even remote descendants are very usually called sons and daughters. See Dr. Wall on the text last quoted; and Josephus, Ant. viii. 10. 1.

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tained a long and happy life, as the reward of his piety and righteousness *. The Bible extols his many and eminent virtues; but says nothing of his long life. From the account above given of Abijah's short life and reign, it is certain that Afa's age could not exceed 54. Josephus, when not directed by notations of time in the sacred Annals, usually amplifies numbers †.

5. *Jehoshaphat.*

AT the age of 35 he began his reign of 25 years, and consequently was born in the 19th of his father Afa's life ‡.

6. *Jehoram.*

"HE was 32 years old when he began to reign, and reigned eight years in Jerusalem §." By this notation

* Ant. viii. 12. 6.

† This author agrees in every variation concerning Maacah, with respect to the specifications already mentioned—as the wife of Rehoboam, the mother of Abijah and Afa, the daughter of Absalom. In Josephus, Ant. viii. 12. 4. Micaiah is the name of Afa's mother: and in 2 Chron. xiii. 2. Abijah's mother is so expressed, with this addition, "that she was a daughter of Uriel of Gibeah." These variations infer no uncertainty. The difference of the name does not necessarily imply a diversity of persons. Much greater variations in orthography are consistent with the usage of diverse dialects. Uriel was most probably the husband of Absalom's daughter (Tamar), whose daughter Maacah, or Micaiah, was the mother of Abijah, and the grandmother of Afa, in whose minority she was queen regent, and deposed when he came of age.

‡ 2 Chron. xxx. 31.

§ 2 Chron. xxi. 5.

his age at death did not exceed 40. Hence result several difficulties in computation, not to be obviated otherwise, than by taking the chronological characters of this reign, in connection with those of the ensuing.

"JEHORAM had several sons (their number not specified); and a band of Arabians, Ethiopians, and Philistines, came up against Judah, and carried away all the substance found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives, so that never a son was left him, save Jehoahaz, [Ahaziah], the youngest of his sons:—him the inhabitants of Jerusalem made king in his (father's) stead; for the band of men, that came up with the Arabians to the camp, had slain all the rest. Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign. He reigned eight years in Jerusalem, and his mother's name was Athalia, the daughter [of Ahab and grand-daughter] of Omri *." The notation for Ahaziah's age, 42, is happily corrected into 22†. Dr. Wall in his note on the place, not without reason, pronounces this larger number one of the most palpable mistakes, and wrong readings in the Hebrew text of this book (2 Chronicles). "Few," he says, "of the rest are corrected in the Greek version, but this is." Kennicott assigns the most probable source of the mistake. For כב 22, had inadvertently been substituted. This sets the matter right at once. The true number he observes is read universally in all the translations, as well as in the original of Kings; in the

* 2 Chron. xxi. 6. and ch. xxii. 3.

† 2 Kings, viii. 26.

Syriac and Arabic versions of the Chronicles; and in the valuable printed edition of the Septuagint by Aldus, in 1518: He might have added the excellent impression at Frankfurt, fol. 1697.

THAT singular criterion, which gives a son the rank of seniority to a father;—a seniority of two years, and recorded in an ancient history;—has every reason to be considered as a writ of error, and the title thence accruing as a counterfeit. The scribes, from ignorance, make a false report. The historian's notations accord with nature. For a father, dying at 40, might leave a son 22 years old. This youngest son, however, had elder brothers; and, to the conviction of all impartial judges, it may be certified that the age of Jehoram was 32, when he began his joint reign, and 36 at his father's death. His age was consequently 44, Ahaziah being born in his 22d year, and his elder sons, by several mothers, between the 16th and 22d. As in genealogy the Archbishop's knowledge is superficial, so his decisions are incongruous often with his premises. Yet even he saw the propriety of admitting, that the 32d of Jehoram's age ought to be reckoned from his advancement to the throne in his father's life-time.

THIS Ahaziah, having reigned one year together with his father, which as complete makes the 8th and last of his administration; and one full year more after his decease, was, in the 24th of his own life, cut off by the sword of Jehu. As the seventh in succession from David exclusively, he ought, on the authority of the royal calendar in Judah, to be included in this series.

But he is omitted in the list of Christ's ancestors by the evangelist Matthew ; and as not now extant in this division, he is here in like manner left out, though, for reasons to be mentioned, it may be requisite to replace him with others ; both to fill up the triple series, and to reconcile the Old and New Testament registers.

HIS mother Athalia, having slain all the seed royal in Judah, except the infant Joash, invaded the throne, and fell, after an usurpation of six years, a victim to the resentments of the princes and people of the land, and to the justice of an avenging Providence.

7. *Jehoash, or Joash.*

ON the express authority of notations in the sacred records, has his claim to the throne been evinced. Were his lineage, as an immediate son of Ahaziah, less certain, the descent of Jesus Christ from David would be more doubtful. But the direct evidences of this fact, produced in the foregoing pages, shew, that idle conjectures and chimerical notions merit no regard. This infant, (rescued from his unnatural grandmother by the humanity of his father's sister Jehosheba, the wife of Jehoiadah the high priest, who, in virtue of his office, presided with supreme authority over the temple, where the young prince with his nurse had been concealed six years), was thence conducted to the throne, at the age of seven full years. He reigned 40, and consequently died at the age of 47. Usher, misled by his erroneous combination of original numbers, mutilates this reign by reducing it to 39.

8. *Azariah.*

8. *Amaziah.*

AT the age of 25 he began his reign of 29 years, and died at the age of 54 *.

9. *Araziah, Azariah, or Uzziab.*

"ALL the people of the land took Azariah, who was 16 years old, and made him king in the stead of Amaziah his father†." The parallel texts agreeing, like two living witnesses, in the article of time, supersede farther evidence. Yet notations apparently discordant create hesitation, whether Azariah were 16 years old at the decease of his father, or at some subsequent period? That text which connects the first of Uzziab's reign with the 16th of his life, refers both to the 27th of Jeroboam II, king of Israel. This middle term in reckoning is apposite and decisive.

"IN the 38th year of Azariah king of Judah did Zachariah the son of Jeroboam reign in Samaria six months‡. These six months ended in the 39th of the same reign, A. M. 3237. Hence subtract 39, the remainder 3198 denotes the last year of Amaziah, and the 14th of Jeroboam. But the 27th of Jeroboam was the 16th of Araziah. His government therefore had a double commencement;—a minority of 12 years begun in the 15th of Jeroboam;—and a personal reign in the

* 2 Chron. xxv. 1.

† 2 Kings, xiv. 21. and 2 Chron. xxvi. 1—3.

‡ 2 Kings, xv. 8.

27th of the same reign. The 38th, 39th, 50th, and 52d, are all computed from the death of Amaziah, as if no minority had taken place. In the same manner 12 years of anarchy in Samaria, from the death of Jeroboam II. to the death of Zachariah, are in like manner omitted. By two notations however are they retained, or rather restored;—Amaziah lived 15 years after the death of Joash king of Israel *; and Uzziah was 16 years old when he began his personal administration

10. *Jotham.*

ONE rule for computing the lives and reigns of kings has been premised, and often exemplified. In a conjunct reign the age of the junior monarch is computed from the partnership in authority, but his sole reign from the demise of his predecessor, or it includes the last incomplete year of the former.

UZZIAH, it is well known, had been smitten by the hand of Heaven with an incurable leprosy; unto the day of his death he dwelt in a several house, secluded from society; and Jotham his son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land †. These circumstances indicate continuance of time. The space of the regency is not defined, but a term agreeable to the course of nature may be assumed. Suppose therefore Jotham began his vicarious reign at the age of 25, he was therefore born in the 25th of his father's life,

* 2 Kings, xiv. 17. This character of time is, on account of its importance, repeated 2 Chron. xxv. 25.

† 2 Chron. xxvi. 21.

and

and began his own sole reign at the age of 31; add 16 for his reign, he died at the age of 47. No remembrance occurs, and from nature, chronology, or history, emergent difficulties in genealogy are anticipated.

11. *Ahaz.*

HIS age when he began to reign, is in two parallel texts said to have been 20*. His father, as the numbers have been transmitted, reigned 16 and lived 36 years. Ahaz was, by this reckoning, born in the 16th of Jotham. This arrangement, apposite and conciliatory as it may appear, is inadequate; for the very next step in computation infers a contradiction.

12. *Hezekiah.*

AT his accession he was 25 years old†. But as his father's life and reign did not exceed 36‡, the son was born when the father's age was but 11. Whiston pronounces this notation one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible. On the authority of Tremellius, Usher has recourse to a retrograde computation, (his usual expedient for solving emergent perplexities), by supposing the sacred historian meant, that Ahaz was 20 years old, not when he himself, but when his father Jotham began to reign. If so, Ahaz was born in the 5th year of Jotham's age; or by the correction above proposed, in the 11th. Both these critics are extremely unfortunate.

* 2 Kings, xvi. 2. and 2 Chron. xxviii. 1.

† 2 Chron. xxix. 1.

‡ 2 Chron. xxviii. 1.

They solve one contradiction, by recommending to their readers the belief of an equal, or greater absurdity. Kennicott, in all his three voluminous dissertations, overlooks this cluster of incongruous numbers. Wall, in his note on 2 Chron. xxviii. 1. remarks, that the Complutensian, Aldine, Alexandrine, Gr. and Vulg. Lat. Pentateuch, agree with the Heb. here and in 2 Kings, xvi. 2. and that the Vat. Greek copy in the former text, reads 25 for the age of Ahaz. Whiston approves the emendation, and confirms it by the authority of the Armenian, and other versions. He might have added the two valuable printed editions of the Septuagint, that by Field in 1653, and that by Wechelins in 1697.

USHER, inconsistently with his own postulate, admits that Jotham was 25 years old, when his administration at the time of his father's leprosy began, and that he reigned 16 without a colleague. As above noted he died at the age of 47. Subtract 25 for the age of Ahaz, at the demise of Jotham, according to the most correct editions of the Septuagint, the surplus 22 is the age of Jotham at the birth of Ahaz: and $25 + 16 = 41$: the result indicates the last of Ahaz; then $41 - 25 = 16$, denotes the age of Ahaz at the birth of Hezekiah. Thus is surmounted every semblance of variation, in historical and chronological characters, from the course of nature. This early instance of procreation it has, in one other case, that of Rehoboam, been necessary to admit. Such examples, though not without precedents, are rare; but ought not to be rejected under the notion of

physical improbabilities. Here we should have had two in succession, and, what must be reprobated as impossible without a miracle, a son born in the 11th of his father's life. A minute scrutiny into the usual phraseology of the sacred writers, the variations in parallel texts of the original, the discordant notations in antient versions, and contextual analogy to nature, have restored consistency with truth in many cases where palpable absurdity was otherwise unavoidable. Without the least apprehension of hurting verisimilitude, the worthy Metropolitan mentions an hypothesis which makes Ahaz born in the 5th or 11th of Jotham;—and Hezekiah in the 11th of Ahaz. Yet so little attentive was he to consequences, that he abridges by one year the life and reign of the father, and constructs a pile of absurdities. Prideaux, misled by his example, copied this last mistake, and afterward found it necessary to compensate a deficient year by adding unity to the short reign of Amon.

13. *Manasseh,*

AT the age of 12, ascended the throne. Two inferences are obvious: 1. He was born in the 42d year of his father's life, which was the 17th of his reign. 2. He was a minor, consequently a regent governed by representation four years. This long reign of 55 years* contributes both to the ease and certainty of computation: for except in one other instance, that of Uzziah, the reckoning by generations from David to

* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1.

Zedekiah,

Zedekiah, hath been so circumscribed, both in the ascending and descending series, that it is extremely difficult to fix that one critical point in natural time, where probability is admissible, or contradiction suspected, and unavoidable.

14. *Amon,*

ON the authority of two parallel texts, he began to reign at the age of 22, and died at 24 *. That a strange fluctuation of opinion concerning this reign and life, among the ancient chronologers, did prevail, is evident from their jarring sentiments, as set forth by the Metropolitan in his *Chronologiâ Sacrâ*, p. 83. With a needless expence of investigation and argument, he combats the hypothesis of Eusebius, who assigns, on the report of the 70 interpreters, 12 years to the reign of Amon, and approves the censure of Syncellus; who gives Eusebius the lie as to the duration of this reign. It is not a little extraordinary that both these fathers acknowledge the Hebrew number to be two, and also the Septuagint number to be 12: whereas all agree with the Hebrew, without the least vestige of a various reading in either of the parallel notations.

HE continues his strictures on other writers with respect to different views of the same subject. Sulpicius Severus, in the first book of his sacred history, affirms, that Amon's reign did not exceed two years; but that Josiah his son reigned no more than 21; for he died in

* 2 Kings, xxi. 19. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21.

the third year after the celebration of the memorable passover in his 18th year. This altercation discovers gross ignorance in Eusebius, Syncellus, Severus, and Archbishop Usher. They perceived incoherence somewhere, but could not descry its source: they foresaw, that if 10 years were added to the reign of the father, as many must be retrenched from that of the son. They perhaps suspected, on the hypothesis of Amon having reigned but two years, that Josiah at the age of 12 begat the first of his four sons. To the truth of this fact they were unwilling to give their sanction: to contradict it they had not courage, being persuaded that God, as oft as it might be his pleasure, could work miracles; piously referring the time and occasion of such interposition, to Infinite Wisdom.

IN short, from Eusebius bishop of Cesarea, in the fourth, to Usher archbishop of Armagh, in the seventeenth century of the Christian era, all the intermediate historians, critics, and chronologers, (if any such did exist), saw confusion and perplexity in the notations for these two kings [Amon and Josiah];—all seem to have entertained the sentiment, that every scribe possessed the faculty of plenary inspiration no less than Moses, Ezra, &c.—and all express their opinion that a mistake has been committed in the years, which define the length of their reigns. Without the least tincture of acrimony may it be remarked, that a very moderate degree of penetration would have sufficed to evince, whether the years of the two kings at the time of their investiture with royalty, were erroneous; and if rea-
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sons for the affirmative proposition should seem the more probable, easy it was to bring this subject to its ultimate test,—COMPUTATION.

FROM the point in debate obvious it is, that ten years more, than the length of Amon's reign, and ten years less, than the quantity ascribed to Josiah, would remove certain perplexities in the chronology, genealogy, and history of the period now under examination.

BE it recollected, that Manasseh reigned 55, and lived 67 years. At first view it infers no absurdity to suppose, that Amon's age, at the decease of Manasseh, might possibly have been 42. Then $67 - 42 = 25$: this surplus was, by the supposition, the age of the father at the nativity of the son:—a conclusion in perfect harmony with the course of nature, both in the retrograde and progressive series. It may be enquired, whether this position derives confirmation from the similar figure of ancient numerical characters? Answer; The characters are the same with those already produced to demonstrate, that Ahaziah king of Judah was not, and could not possibly, be two years older than his father, Jehoram. The characters מנ 42, had preposterously been interchanged for כב 22; and here כב 22, for מנ 42. Thus is taken out of the way every obstacle which can produce variance between the truth of nature, and the truth of history, in the reign of Amon. The suspicion of error in the two texts, which define the reign and age of this prince, has eluded the acumen of all the critics from Eusebius down to Scaliger,

Scaliger, Petau, Usher, Prideaux, Bedford, Jackson, Kennedy, Kennicott, Wall, Whiston, the Authors of the Ancient Universal History, &c.

CERTAIN objections, too momentous to be overlooked, relative to the form, number, and order of this series, remain for examination.

Object. 1. Three Names, which the EVANGELIST excludes, are HERE interpolated.

THESE names are Ahaziah, Jehoash, and Amaziah. What reasons can be assigned for an omission, which sets at variance the records of the two Testaments? Yardley and Trapp, not to mention others, reply in general by similar queries; Why are two of Judah's descendants omitted in the first book of the Chronicles? Why did Ezra leave out seven of his progenitors? Answer: Neither of these authors proposed a full list of those families, much less a division into classes equal in numbers. They add, that Matthew in particular made no scruple of leaving out some persons well enough known, though inconsiderable in themselves; as other historians do when they give a summary account of things:—that these three, as well as any others might have been passed over;—that Jehoram married Athaliah the daughter of Ahab, against whose house a particular curse had been denounced;—that the three here omitted were of that wicked house;—and, that all three came to violent deaths.

ALLOW these arguments their full force, they might justly be extended to the exclusion of many more:—

of

C H A P. IV.

THIRD SERIES OF XIV. GENERATIONS.

I. *Josiah.*

THOSE texts which define his age when his reign began, express eight years, and limit his government to 31 *. He, by this reckoning, died at the age of 39. This ultimate term of life must be considered together with the history of his family.

“THE sons of Josiah were, Johanan the first born, the second Jehoiakim, (Eliakim); the third Zedekiah, (Mattaniah); the fourth Shallum, (Jehoahaz †).”

WITH that precision whence the sacred writers never deviate, the rank of these sons in seniority is ascertained. Such minute distinctions are here necessary to prevent confusion arising from a variety of names. Not without special significance is it recorded, that “the people of the land took Jehoahaz, the *youngest son* of Josiah, and made him king in Jerusalem: his age was 23, and his reign three months ‡.” From the age of the father

* 2 Kings, xxii. 1. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1.

† 1 Chron. iii. 15.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 2.

39, take that of the son 26, the surplus 16, is the current year of Jofiah at the birth of Jehoahaz. This age of procreation, in the case of a first born, is unexceptionable; but otherwise scarcely consistent with physical probability.

Is it possible to discover the father's age at the nativity of his first three sons? The four had two mothers. Jehoiakim, (and probably Johanan), was born of Zebudah;—Zedekiah and Jehoahaz of Hamutal. Certain it is, that all were not children of the same year. For Jehoiakim the second succeeded, on the removal of Jehoahaz, at the age of 25; and was therefore born in the 14th of Jofiah's life. This fact is without example in the Bible history of 42 generations, and being beyond the line of experience, may properly be transferred to the chapter of paradoxes. The same mother had, at separate births, Johanan and Jehoiakim. The elder was consequently born in the 13th or perhaps the 12th of their father's age. Here is a train of improbabilities, which distinctly, but much more in a state of composition, set even credulity at defiance. Zedekiah was the third in order, and consequently 24 years old at the death of his father, for he was the elder son by Hamutal, Jehoahaz the younger, and therefore they were not twins. Zedekiah's age at the death of Jehoiakim, 11 years after Jofiah, must have been 35. But in three texts * it is erroneously marked 21.

* 2 Kings, xxiv. 18. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11. Jer. lii. 1.

ALL these absurdities in computation render it credible, that Josiah succeeded his father at a more advanced stage of life than eight years. By the necessary emendation above proposed, Amon died at the age of 44. The birth of Josiah may be referred to any year not repugnant to the course of nature. Be it then supposed at a venture, that the sacred historians in the two texts abovementioned wrote 18, not 8. In the Hebrew alphabet ח denotes 8, י 10, and חי 18. The small, and sometimes scarcely perceptible character, י, might easily have been overlooked, and with it the number 10 was lost, to the great detriment not only of textual coherence, but of physical possibility.

By this highly probable conjecture every difficulty vanishes. In matters of singular intricacy even bold conjectures are justifiable; but in framing conclusions, judgment must proceed with caution and coolness. Precipitance is the bane of criticism. One enquiry still remains. Does this conjecture derive confirmation from the possible or actual interchange, omission, or transposition, of the same numerical signatures, in other instances? Supposable it is, that the like sources of perplexity may occur in various passages, where the same combination of alphabetical numbers is repeated, with the same deviations from the truth of computation. Happily one apposite example is obvious and decisive. The same pair of letters, intended to express the same age, in a distinct personage, is exhibited with the same omission of י 10. "Jehoiachin was (ח) eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three years
and

and ten days in Jerusalem*." In the Aldine and Alexandrine editions of the Septuagint, as also in the Hebrew text and Greek version of 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. 8, the original notation יח, 18, has happily been preserved. In this latter context, a circumstance altogether incompatible with the number *eight* is recorded: "The king of Babylon took and carried away Jehoiachin, and the king's WIVES." A youth of 18 it may be presumed had wives; but this could not be affirmed of a child whose age did not exceed eight years.

No probable reason forbids the use of this arithmetical experiment, in ascertaining the real age of Josiah at the time of his accession. It is perfectly consistent with the repeated evidences of his early piety. The recorded specifications denote rather a gradual and continued progress in goodness, than a premature entrance on a religious course. For instance, "In the eighth year of his reign," that is, the 26th of his life, "while he was yet young, he *began* to seek after the God of David, his father: and in the 12th year," that is, the 30th of his life, "he *began* to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, groves, images," &c. The Hebrew phraseology denominates men *young* at 30. Again, "In the 18th of his reign," that is, the 36th of his life, "he issued a commission for repairing the temple, solemnised a magnificent passover, and introduced a general reformation, not only in Judah, but also in Samaria †."

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

† 2 Chron xxxiv. 3-33.

IN the very best dispositions, the seeds and symptoms of supereminent excellence may begin to unfold themselves at the age of eight years. But schemes of public usefulness, projected with a felicity of design, and executed with persevering vigour, require a maturity of faculties; and when young princes of such a character are providentially raised up on a conspicuous theatre, for the benefit of the human kind; then the counsels, influence, and authority of wise and good men, in the subordinate functions of magistracy, are commonly employed to call forth into exertion the latent virtues of a young sovereign.

THUS Joash, king of Judah, from the tender age of seven years, did that which was good in the sight of the Lord all his days, wherein Jehoiadah, the high priest, instructed him *.

IN like manner young Josiah was happily instructed in the principles of wisdom, and the measures of good government, under the pious tuition of Hilkiah the high priest, and other upright counsellors, in a very degenerate age †. His heart having a right bias from the state of infancy, his virtue acquired strength from good culture, and in advanced life he discharged with eminent honour all the functions of a patriot king, with the well-directed zeal of an exemplary reformer.

By a minute disquisition into various notations of time, from Solomon to Josiah, many important emen-

* 2 Kings, xii. 2. and 2 Chron. xxiv. 2.

† 2 Kings, xxii. 2—20.

dations of numbers, which embarrass computation, have not only been suggested, but reconciled with truth and nature. It is humbly presumed, that nothing remains to shock belief, nothing to violate probability. Every decision is admissible, coherent, perspicuous. Chronology harmonises with history, and both with the regular process of nature, during the lapse of 15 generations;—a period of time which has hitherto derived very little elucidation from criticism.

2. Jehoiakim.

“JOSIAS begat Jeconias and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon. And after they were carried away to Babylon, Jeconias begat Salathiel *.” &c.

DR. Trapp very properly observes, “The two names JEHOIAKIM and JEHOIACHIN being so like, the same Greek word serves for both. The former was the son of Josiah, and he is meant verse 11th. The latter was the son of Jehoiakim, and he is meant verse 12th †.”

NOTHING can be more conformable to history than this remark of that eminent critic. It is confirmed by the uniform report of all the Old Testament registers, and by very clear distinctions in the phraseology of this Evangelist; for instance,

* Matthew, i. 11, 12.

† Trapp's Explanatory Notes on Matthew, i. 12.

1. JOSIAS begat Jeconias and his brethren. The brethren of the former Jeconias have been already mentioned, Johanan, Jehoahaz, and Zedekiah, who were likewise the sons of Josiah. Of the second Jeconias, the name of no brother is recorded.

2. THE times, as distinct, are properly diversified. The elder Jeconias was born about the time *they* were carried away to Babylon; the younger, after *they* were brought to Babylon, begat Salathiel*.

3. THAT Jehoiakim the son, as also Jeconiah the grandson of Josiah, were both born before the first deportation to Babylon, is evident from indubitable notations already specified:—the former in the 24th, the latter in the 42d of Josiah's life, as above computed. This circumstance sufficiently evinces the diversity of persons, and prevents confusion from the identity of names.

4. DIFFERENT dates are, without the least semblance of ambiguity, assigned for the removal to Babylon;—one in the fourth of Jehoiakim's reign;—a second in the first, a third in the 11th, of Zedekiah.

5. WHO were the persons of whom the Evangelist affirms, *they* were carried, and *they* were brought, to

* Ἐν τῇ μετακινήσει, *some time before*. The Lexicographers remark, that *ἐν*, implying time, and as here put in construction, denotes *priority* of time, like the Latin *sub* in the same signification, as *sub noctem*, about even tide; *at the approach of night*. On the other hand, *μετα*, in this notion, unequivocally expresses time *subsequent*, as *μετὰ δὲ τῇ μετακινήσει*, *but after the migration*.

Babylon &

Babylon? Answer: The words *before* and *after*, characterise no particular persons. Neither nominative nor verb is expressed in the original text. From our English version, an English reader would naturally suspect, that the elder Jeconias and his brethren are implied. But this Jeconias, (Jehoiakim), was not carried to Babylon. In the 11th of his reign indeed, "Nebuchadnezzar came up against him, and bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon *." But he was never transported thither. Jeremiah had foretold †, "that he should be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." Josephus historically records the circumstantial completion of this prophecy: "Nebuchadnezzar commanded king Jehoiakim to be thrown down before the walls of the city, without any burial!" That this was done in the 11th of his reign, and no sooner, the author expressly affirms. "His son Jehoiachin, was made king of the land, and of the city. He reigned three months and ten days ‡." This short term of sovereignty is taken in to complete the last of his father's disastrous reign: for he too was taken, and actually removed to Babylon, when that year was expired §.

NEITHER were all the brethren of the senior Jeconias transported to Babylon. Of Johanan nothing is recorded but that he was the first born of Josiah's four sons. It may be conjectured, either that he was slain

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

† Chap. xxii. 19.

‡ Ant. x. 6. 3.

§ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

with his father in the tragical battle of Megiddo, or was prevented by a natural death. Certain it is that the youngest, Jehoahaz, or Shallum, was dethroned, (after a reign of three months, which are also comprehended in the 31st of his father), by Pharaoh Necho, and put in chains at Riblah; and a prediction, of equal credit with history, had been emitted, "that he should die in Egypt, the place whither he had been led captive *." Zedekiah, therefore, was the only son of Josiah, who had been carried to Babylon. This induction of circumstances terminates in the inference, that the Evangelist referred to no particular persons removed from Judah into Babylonia, neither to any particular term between the fourth of Jehoiakim, and the 11th of Zedekiah. His words however intimate, that both Jehoiakim and Jeconiah were born prior to the first captivity of Judah;—that Salathiel was born some time after the transportation of his father;—but the precise interval is, in neither case, defined: nor was it necessary. The register allows a latitude of interpretation. Jehoiakim might have been near 36 years old before he was put in fetters; and Salathiel might have been born before the captivity of Zedekiah.

6. MILL and Kuster, on the passage, quote numerous and respectable authorities for reading, "Josias begat Jakeim, or Joakeim; and Jakeim, or Joakeim, begat Jeconias." Though Laud, Selden, Petau, H. Stevens, and a cloud of other witnesses, give their sanc-

* Jerem. xxii. 11, 12.

tion to this supposed improvement; yet the more ancient fathers, Epiphanius, Austin, Ambrose, Irenæus, &c. censure the proposed change of names as an innovation; because, in their judgement, the words as anciently read and still extant, are sufficiently discriminated, though the names are the same *. Zedekiah, as the brother of Jehoiakim, is excluded from the genealogy of this period; but retains his rank as the last of the kings, who sat on the throne of David.

* Yardley adopts the opinion of Trapp, in applying the same name to the son and grandson of Josiah; conformably to the authority of the Christian fathers, above mentioned. This decision supercedes the use and necessity of the various readings collected by Mill and Kuster, which seem to bring the suspicion of inaccuracy on the text of the Evangelist, as now read. This diversity of sentiments among the ancient and modern critics, only shews that variations had crept into the several copies of this gospel, even in the second century of our era. In a matter where certainty is unattainable, and either clause of an alternative, unimportant, every judicious reader is left to his own discretion. Perfectly consistent with this freedom of choice is the remark, that the correction, supplied by our modern critics, seems much more agreeable to the form of the Catalogue, which in other instances repeats the same name, first in the relation of a son, and next of a father: "Josias begat Joiakim, and Joiakim begat Jeconias."

C H A P. V.

CHRONOLOGICAL Problems solved by Genealogy.

THIS subject, being retrospective, may be pronounced a deviation from strict method. But it could nowhere else be introduced more naturally; and its subservience to future arrangements will, it is hoped, recommend it as an interlude, which tends rather to diversify, than retard the prosecution of the primary undertaking, or mar its final effect.

OF modern chronologers Sir Isaac Newton was the first who, with a degree of penetration, peculiar to himself, (successfully applied genealogy, as a middle term, for adjusting to the course of nature the chronology of the Gentiles in the fabulous ages), made important discoveries. It is to be regretted, that he did not adopt for his standard the Hebrew computation, as extant in the original records of the sacred canon; and not as exhibited by Petau, Scaliger, Usher, and their followers. To him, however, the learned world is indebted for certain improvements in the art of historical combination, no less useful than singular.

I. Hk

1. HE makes the proper distinction between generations and reigns, which quantities Herodotus, and other Gentile writers, erroneously confounded, as equivalent and commensurate.

2. IN his elaborate work, the CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT KINGDOMS AMENDED, is the mean term of intervals, in family descents, fixed to three successions in a century. If the reckoning proceed in the line of the eldest sons, 28, or at the most 30 years, is the measure of a generation: if in that of younger brothers, 33; that is three in a century at an average.

3. IN computing by reigns, and by the first born sons, 18 is the common measure; if by younger brothers 20, or five reigns for a century. These distinctions between generations and reigns, founded in common sense, are eminently serviceable in regulating history. For in the words of this great author, "The reigns of kings are shorter than generations, because kings are succeeded not only by their eldest sons, but sometimes by their brothers. Sometimes they are slain or deposed, and succeeded by others of an equal or greater age, especially in elective or turbulent kingdoms *." For these obvious reasons, generations, counted in the line of kings, are shorter than in families of a subordinate rank. In hereditary monarchies, the apparent heirs contract early marriages from political motives; while others, not provided with equal advantages for rearing a family, defer connubial engagements to a more advanced stage of life.

* Newton's Chronology, page 54.

ONE other remark, to this purpose is not here to be superseded. Sir Isaac Newton reckons the proportionate quantum, both in generations and reigns, from the abbreviated term of natural life, which was first reduced to its present standard about the time of Saul. Some of the arrangements with respect to the ancient history, if so it may be called, of Egypt and Greece, this very respectable author has brought too low; and on this account, a greater latitude in computation for those early periods is reasonable.

IN the Hebrew records the vouchers for the mean length of generations, and the real measure of single magistracies, are much more explicit, regular, continuous, (not to say far more authentic), than in those of paganism, the earliest of which are comparatively recent. An abridged scheme of the genealogy, in the times of the patriarchs and judges, has been given in the foregoing chapters of this Analysis: and it is judged requisite to subjoin a more minute specimen of fundamental principles in computation, during the period of regal government from Saul to Zedekiah.

THE construction and uses of the following table, will, it is hoped, be much more perspicuous from explanatory notes on each column, than it could have been made by preliminary rules for the illustration of its several parts.

A. M.

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A. M.	Names.	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.	
2911	[Saul consecrated]	-	*31	40	71	
2921	David born	-	30	40	70	
2971	Solomon	-	*20	39	60	
3004	Rehoboam	-	33	*27	17	44
3020	Abijah	-	16	*28	3	31
3038	Afa	-	18	*13	40	54
3057	Jehoshaphat	-	19	35	24	60
3078	Jehoram	-	21	*36	8	44
3100	[Ahaziah]	-	22	23	1	24
	[Athaliah]	-	00	00	6	00
3123	[Joash]	-	23	7	40	47
3145	[Amaziah]	-	22	25	29	54
3195	Uzziah	-	50	*4	52	56
3220	Jotham	-	25	*31	16	47
3242	Ahaz	-	22	*25	16	41
3258	Hezekiah	-	16	25	29	54
3300	Manasseh	-	42	12	55	67
3325	Amon	-	25	*42	2	44
3351	Josiah	-	26	*18	31	49
	[Jehoahaz]	-	00	00	00	00
3375	Jehoiakim	-	24	25	11	36
3393	Jeconiah	-	18	00	00	55
3421	[Zedekiah deposed]	-	28	*35	11	46
2971						
			450	492	510	1054
450						

Explanatory

Explanatory Notes.

As to the construction of the table, the numbers in column i. denote the intervals of births, those in column ii. the years of the kings at their accession ; iii. the duration of reigns ; iv. of lives. Its uses are briefly to be considered.

Column i. Intervals of Descent.

THE date of each birth is connected with the current years of the world towards the left hand margin, on the same horizontal line ; and to such years the other columns of numbers have no reference.

INCLOSED in brackets are the names which do not belong to the genealogical register of thrice 14 generations, as framed by the Evangelist. The descendants from Jeconias II. to Jesus Christ exclusively, are 13 : and those between David, the last of the first series, and the same Jeconias, 18 : and $18 + 12 = 30$, a surplus of twice 14 by two units, or descents.

As the line of genealogy is continued from Judah, Saul the Benjamite is properly excluded. For this reason, the year of the world for his birth is not marked ; but that of his consecration, which assigns him a rank among the kings. The word *born* annexed to David's name is to be supposed after those of his progeny, who reigned one full year. Ahaziah indeed is of this number, and his name was most probably in the original record, though not as one of the second series in the genealogy. The Evangelist had more respect to the continuity of
time,

time, than to the *number* of names. Joash, the son of this prince was born in the last year of his father's life, and is not improperly represented, as the immediate successor, in blood, to his grandfather Jehoram.

ALL those learned men, who have critically examined this catalogue, admit, that the truth of the genealogy does not require an exact enumeration of Christ's ancestors, though they have not been successful in their conjectures concerning its original structure.

JEHOIAKIM may, for a similar reason, be retained in the list of kings, yet must be excluded from the genealogy, if Joseph be inserted. His son was the first of those princes, condemned to exile in Babylon; and his birth was more nearly connected in *time* with that disastrous incident, than that of his father: for his age at the time of Josiah's death was seven years, and he may no less properly than Joash be reckoned the immediate successor of his grandfather. "*About the time they were carried away to Babylon,*" is a significant circumstance which seems both to suggest and authorize this arrangement.

ATHALIAH, as a female, can have no place in this roll. Her age is not defined, either at the time of her usurpation, or of her tragical end. As a sovereign she reigned, or rather domineered, six years, and as such only her name is introduced in the royal calendar of the Jews.

THE name of Jehoahaz is inclosed in brackets, because he was not the father of Jehoiakim. His short reign is included in the last of Josiah, as is that of the
second

second Jeconias in the last of his father. Zedekiah is here inserted as a king, not as a constituent member in the genealogy.

THUS the names from David to Josias, excluding both, are reduced to 14 generations; and from Josias to Jesus Christ, the last not included, to the same precise number. Hence results the probable conclusion, that the Evangelist's catalogue, as now restored, will fairly admit this arrangement. But it remains to be shewn, in a distinct chapter, in perfect consistence with the truth of computation, and with every circumstance in the catalogue itself, that the names of Ahaziah and Jehoiakim may be replaced; nay, that without them the register is incomplete.

As it is impossible to discover in what year of Jeconias II. his son, Salathiel was born, the intermediate space cannot be defined by certain intervals. The mode of computation for the third series, in which the mean quantity of generations must be ascertained by an equation, obviously differs from that of the two former.

FROM the 11th of Zedekiah, A. M. 3421, is deducted the year of Solomon's birth 2971: and the surplus, 450, divided by 17, the number of the names, not inclosed in brackets, quotes 26 years eight months for the equated ages of the several fathers at the birth of their specified sons. But, if Ahaziah be taken into the reckoning, 450, divided by 18, the mean space between descents is precisely 25. The solution of this chronological problem evinces, that the truth of computation

is not affected by a small variation of numbers during the rotation of four or five centuries: and if generations in the line of kings be commonly shorter than in other families, the reason has already been suggested, that the princes in hereditary monarchies generally marry at an earlier period than other men. Hence a less protracted interval in descents. This inference rests on the sure basis of historical evidence; for from Abraham to David, as also from Josiah to Christ, such intervals are much longer in private families, than in the intermediate series from kings.

By a critical examination of the records, whence this register is extracted, it recovers its primeval and genuine form. Mutilations, the result of accident, presumptuous ignorance, or superficial erudition, are restored; and the New Testament brought to harmonise in every note with the old. Every aspect of a paradox assumes the hue of plain truth, and the course of nature seems uniform in operation, suitably to the fixed appointment of an immutable God. The only instances of apparently premature generation, occur in the case of Rehoboam and Ahaz, whose sons, Abijah and Hezekiah, it must be admitted, were but 16 years younger than their fathers. Here is no physical improbability. Such examples may be uncommon, but not incredible. Early puberty, in some individuals, is the result of constitution, or, in many more, depend on the influence of climate. In China it is said the ladies are mothers at 12, grandmothers at 24, and superannuated at 30.—Neither is it supposed, in the lapse of 16 generations,

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that

that the prolific faculty lasted to the period of extreme senility. In the table are but two examples of procreation at 50, and beyond that age none.

Column ii. Age of Accession.

THUS far KINGS have been considered, not in their public capacity, but in their domestic relations, as progenitors and descendants. "Concerning those of David's race, 21 in number," Josephus affirms, "that they reigned 514 years, six months, and ten days. Saul was the first;" (certainly not of David's family *). "The 18 kings of Judah, who succeeded Solomon, reigned 390 years, which is, one with another, 22 years apiece†." Add Saul, David, and Solomon, with the sum of their reigns, $40+40+39=119$; the number of the sovereigns is, as before, 21; that of their reigns 510. Neither Josephus nor Sir Isaac did recollect, that the three months of Jehoahaz, and the three months ten days of Jehoiachin, being taken in to complete the last deficient year of their respective fathers, give them no right to a place in the royal calendar. Their number is thus reduced to 19, without Saul and Athaliah.

AT the bottom of column ii. the number 492 denotes the sum of years prior to the accession of the several princes. By 20 divide 492, the quotient, 24 years seven months, is the mean proportion of age, when each assumed the sceptre. The result of this operation

* Ant. x. 8. 4.

† Newt. Chron. p. 52.

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varies but in a small degree from the mean interval of descents. Thus are the computations in the two columns subservient to reciprocal confirmation. It is to be remarked, that four of the young princes were minors.

Of the numbers in this column marked with asterisks, the use is now to be explained. The number of reigns thus distinguished is 12. In some cases the notations of age are altogether omitted; for example, Solomon, Abijah, Afa: in others the notation is partial—"Saul," as the text is now read, "was the son of one year*." In certain texts the numbers are impaired, in others enlarged.

Years omitted.			Years added.		
Saul	-	30	Rehoboam	-	14
Solomon	-	20	Amon	-	20
Abijah	-	28	Uzziah	-	16
Afa	-	13			50
Joram	-	4	<i>Mistakes corrected by parallel Texts.</i>		
Jotham	-	6			
Abaz	-	5	Ahaziah said to have been 42 years old. The true number 22.		
Josiah	-	10			
Zedekiah	-	14	Jeconiah eight years old. The true number 18.		
		130			

THESE mistakes, proceeding from various sources, and promiscuously dispersed in records framed with the utmost precision for defining the parts of time, in a continuous

* 1 Sam. xiii. 1.

series of years and generations, are sufficient to spread a gloom of obscurity over the history of 4000 years. It is one character of pre-eminent excellence in the sacred writings, that they comprehend in themselves the means of rectifying such oversights as disfigure their surface, through the unavoidable imperfection of fallible men. The Bible has surmounted a multiplicity of trials. It has stood the test of criticism. Let the same experiment be applied to the dynasties of Egypt; the immensely amplified chronology of the Chaldeans, Chinese, Gen-
toos, Hindoos, &c.; the operator will find, that the farther he proceeds, the greater will be his distance from light and truth, from coherence, order, and certainty.

Column iii. Length of Reigns.

“ IN the later ages, since chronology hath been exact, scarce is an instance to be found, of ten kings reigning any where in continual succession, above 260 years *;” that is, 26 years apiece.

WHISTON has evinced the fallacy of this position by referring to the testimony of authentic history, (in times much later than the era to which Sir Isaac alludes), where it is shewn that 12 kings in England, from William the Conqueror to Richard III. reigned in continual succession $27\frac{1}{4}$ years each:—that 12 kings in France, from Rupert to Philip IV. reigned in continual succession $32\frac{1}{4}$ years apiece †.”

* Newton's Chronology.

† Confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, 1728.

IT merits serious observation, that in an age before chronology was exact, a certain class of men, the Hebrew prophets and historians, wrote according to nature and truth, the transactions of 21 reigns in continual succession, almost equal to twice 260 years. The number at the bottom of column iii. is 510. Divide this sum by 21, the mean quantity of reigns is 24 years 3 months. This great man meant nothing less than to invalidate the authority of the sacred records. But his zeal to explode the incredible antiquity of the pagan establishments induced him to abbreviate the measures in computation; and in many instances, especially his arrangement for the age of Sesostris, he has assigned too late a period for the rise of the Egyptian monarchy; and likewise for several notable epochs subsequent to the introduction of an accurate chronology; particularly the origin of Rome, which he brings too low by 126 years.

Column iv. Duration of Lives.

OUR British bills of mortality, if the facts be reported with precision, are of signal use for ascertaining the advance or decay of population, the yearly result of national maladies, and the more critical seasons of life, with respect to the probable chances of longevity. From such documents has it been found, that the one half of the human race scarcely survives the age of five years. Whatever light political arithmetic, or medical practice, may derive from authentic records of this kind, they have not yet been applied to a discovery of

great importance for evincing the utility of genealogy in chronological disquisitions. Much is it regretted, that so very few ingenious men, enriched with the treasures of erudition, and qualified by a penetrating faculty of OBSERVATION, have attempted to fix that intermediate point of time, which is at nearly an equal distance from the birth of a family successor, and the ultimate term of life, in the times subsequent to its abbreviation: for example; suppose the line of descent be continued, so as that every 34th year should be the first of a new generation; and that 70 years are, with a very few exceptions, the ultimate period of natural life:—in what year of the current generation, (thus computed), does the father usually die?

THIS query has escaped the sagacity of Sir Isaac Newton, of Trapp, Yardley, and others, whose professed subject is our Lord's genealogy. Its solution, however, seems to be momentous.

MOSES tells us, that Adam lived 130 years and begat Seth; that Adam lived after he begat Seth 800 years, and died at the age of 930. With all these specifications of time is the genealogy of the patriarchs continued down to Isaac. With Jacob the notation of births, by the current year of each father, ends, and the chronology is expressed by fixed periods, but not without a specific reference to the genealogy. For instance, the 430 years of sojourning are divided into two equal parts. The former computed from the 75th of Abraham exclusively to the 130th of Jacob, fills up 215 years, and four generations born in Canaan, Isaac,

Jacob, Judah, and Pharez : the latter, from the 130th of Jacob to the 80th of Moses, comprehends the same quantity of time, measured likewise by four generations, born in Egypt ; Hezron, Aram, Amminadab, Nahshon. " Afterward they" (the Israelites) " shall come out in the FOURTH GENERATION, with great substance *."

THE next period of 480 extends from the egress to the foundation of the first temple, and includes a part of six generations from Nahshon to Solomon. With David commenced a two-fold mode of ascertaining chronology ;—by generations and reigns. But the sacred historians judging it improper to mention the several kings, prior to their investiture with sovereignty, generally mark with cardinal numbers the complete years, past at the date of their accession ; and it is remarkable, that though the age of the patriarchs born after the egress, is not defined ; yet that of all the kings posterior to Saul is virtually recorded ; because the years of their several reigns, added to those before their accession, are the sum of their years at the time of their demise.

IT is still more remarkable, that those personages only, who were not in the line of the genealogy, are excepted. The age of Athaliah when she ascended her son's throne is omitted, because she was an usurper and a female : yet the length of her usurpation is defined, to prevent a blank in the computation by reigns.

* Gen. xv. 14-16.

ON the other hand, the ages of Jehoahaz, of Jehoiachin, and of Zedekiah, at the accession of each, are specified (the second not without a variation, the third erroneously); also the duration of their reigns, though the first two do not enlarge the chronology. All three were removed, and, as private characters, died in a state of degradation, ignominy, and exile. Impossible it therefore is, to ascertain the length of their lives; and were it possible, it is needless, because these three names are excluded from the genealogy.

IT is farther to be noted, as a peculiarity of the chronological numbers in the history of the kings, that the royal calendar of Samaria does not mention at what age the kings over the ten tribes ascended the throne. The duration of their reigns is specified. So much was indispensably necessary to characterise coincident years, in coexistent reigns, and to circumscribe the prophetic period of 390, from the dismembering of the kingdom after Solomon; and no farther did the intent of the inspired historians extend.

THE question now recurs. Why is the chronology of the kings over Judah discriminated with so many singular and appropriate marks of precision? Why is the age of each, at the time of his accession, expressed, and not only so, but repeated, together with the length of the several reigns?

ONE reason occurs. It was, doubtless, to give the chronology of the period an additional character of certainty and perfection, by bringing it to the infallible test of genealogy, that the notations of time, should they

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they be accidentally corrupted, (which in several cases has happened), might be restored to purity by adjusting them to the uniform course of nature in generation*.

THIS last column comprehends 21 lives, of which the sum is 1054; or 50 years three months each. Thus every 51st year is the intermediate point in time, equidistant from the birth of a family successor, (the common interval supposed to be 30), and from 70, the usual period of longevity.

IN this roll the shortest life is 24, the longest 71. But they were the lives of kings, who, from the

* For any thing known to the author of these sheets, this only possible method of correction has now, for the first time, been attempted. The disquisition has been a work of labour. Disappointment was often the result, in many steps of his procedure. By adding the age of accession to the length of every reign, was the duration of each life discovered; and the effect of retrograde computation pointed out the current year of every sovereign at the nativity of his successor. If the year thus either assumed, or found, were apparently discordant with history, every circumstance was brought into juxtaposition, compared with discrimination, and a conclusion framed, according to the highest probability. If the year discovered were repugnant to the course of nature, three expedients occurred; 1. A minority, and consequently a regency. 2. A conjunct reign, whence the history dates invariably the age of the junior sovereign. 3. An erroneous note of number, arising from the similar figures of numerical signatures in the Hebrew alphabet. With deference are his researches, and conclusions, submitted to the decision of candid and impartial judges.

accidents

accidents already enumerated, have fewer chances of longevity than other men. Eight of this number were cut off by a violent death. The last two were dethroned, and no account of their age occurs *. On these principles it is a fair conjecture, that men in private life survive the birth of their heirs 25 years at an average.

* " It came to pass in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, in the 12th month, on the 27th day of the month, that Evil-Merodac, the successor of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin, out of prison: and he spake kindly unto him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings who were with him in Babylon; and changed his prison-garments: and he did eat bread continually before him, all the days of his life. His allowance was a continual allowance, given him of the king, a daily rate for every day, all the days of his life." 2 Kings, xxv. 27. The 37th of Jehoiachin's captivity was the 55th of his age. This quotation mentions an allowance for his support, all his days, which evidently implies that he survived his enlargement from the prison several years. But on this surmise, though it were certain, nothing depends. Salathiel might have been born about the time of Zedekiah's degradation, or 52 years before the return from Babylon; and Zerubabel, the grandson of Jehoiachin, might in the first of Cyrus conduct the captives back to their own land.

C H A P. VI.

*Continuation of the Third Series.*3. *Coniah, Jehoiachin, or Jeconias II.*

“ **O** EARTH, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord ; write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his day ; for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, or ruling any more in Judah *.” This solemn denunciation is not to be literally interpreted. Kings may be said to be fathers in two respects. Heirs of their blood and of their dignity, are in different senses their children. Jeconias was in both respects the son of Jehoiakim ; but in the latter sense only was Zedekiah the son of Jeconias. He succeeded him on the throne, and was the last of David’s race who ruled in Judah. The denunciation does not imply the extinction of Jeconiah’s family, but expressly affirms the dissolution of the monarchy, as the words are properly applied. In this view the threatening is equivalent to another on the

* Jer. xxii 29, 30.

same subject, though in different terms: "The Lord said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I removed Israel, and will cast off this city Jerusalem *," &c.

4. *Salathiel*, Shealtiel.

"THE sons of Jeconiah, Affir, Salathiel †," &c. "Tremellius thinks he had no son called Affir, nor any son at all;—that the word Affir here is not the name of a man, but signifies bound or captive;—and that the words should run thus; the sons of Jeconiah the captive, Salathiel, Malchiram, and Pedaiah," &c.

THIS conjecture has every aspect of truth. Frequent examples occur of names imposed on children, in allusion to historical incidents. The eldest son of Moses, born in Midian, was called Gershom, *a stranger there*, and for a like reason the first born of Levi in Egypt.

5. *Zorobabel*.

IN Mat. i. 12. he is said to be the son of Salathiel, and in 1 Chron. iii. 19. the son of Pedaiah. But either way he was the grandson of Jeconias. Other difficulties occur, for which Grotius, Trapp, and Yardley, (to whom the learned reader is referred), offer not improvable solutions. Of Zorobabel's sons and more remote descendants, the names in the *Chronicles* differ entirely from those in the *Evangelist*, unless Abiud *here* be the

* 2 Kings, xxiii. 27.

† 1 Chron. iii. 17.

fame with Obadiah, a grandson of Zorobabel *there*.
 “ It is observable, that both he and his sons might have different names; one in their own family, and another among the people to whom they were captives. It was scarce safe for Zorobabel to be called in Babylon by that name, which signifies the *winnowing of Babel*; and therefore he was among the Babylonians called Shezhbazzar. So his sons were called Meshullam and Hananiah; because the one could scarce properly, as well as scarce safely, be called *Abiud, my father’s glory*; the other *Rhesa, a prince* *.”

THE remaining names in this Evangelist’s register, denote personages posterior to the close of the Old Testament canon, and are, without doubt, copied from authentic vouchers. They are, 6. Abiud, 7. Eliakim, 8. Azor, 9. Sadoc, 10. Achim, 11. Eliud, 12. Eleazar, 13. Matthan, 14. Jacob. Thus is the line of pedigree continued to Joseph and Mary, the one not the natural father of our Lord’s humanity, the other excluded, by her sex, from the Hebrew genealogy.

JOSIAS has been placed at the head of the third series. From what point in physical time the date of the next generation should be reckoned, is doubtful. Whether from the birth of Jeconias II. in the 42d of Josiah’s life, or from that more remarkable term, his removal from the throne, seems to be an indifferent matter, the difference is but 18 years. Certain it is

* Dr. Joseph Trapp’s note on Matt. i. 13.

that his son, Salathiel, was not born before the transportation to Babylon.

CHRIST was born A. M. 4004, and Jeconiah was made a captive in 3411. But, as Salathiel was not born before the conflagration of the temple and city, the reckoning by the fourth generation from Josiah inclusively may be deferred to the 29th of Jehoichim's life, coincident with the 11th of Zedekiah, and the presumed date of Salathiel's birth, A. M. 3421. This sum deduct from the historical year of Christ's nativity 4004, the surplus is 583. From the unavoidable deficiency of genealogical notations, no expedient, for finding a mean proportion, is accessible otherwise than by an equation. By 11, the number of generations from Jeconias to Joseph, excluding both, divide 583, the quotient, 53 years precisely, is the common interval of descents. Evident it is, that this quantity exceeds the space between generations in the line of royalty, by almost a half. But here is no mystery; for reasons have been assigned for princes marrying sooner than other men; and also for the various accidents, which often prevent their longevity.

It has likewise been noted, that, from the time of Arphaxad's birth, the mean length of generations has uniformly been somewhat more than 30 years;—that no sooner was the promise intimated to Abraham, that in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed, than procreation in that line made slower advances;—that from David to Jehoiachin, the interval fell below
the

the common standard ;—and thenceforward, it is now evinced, that, during the space of almost six centuries, the usual term of procreation in that line was lengthened by about 20 years. It was evidently the intent of over-ruling Providence, that the number of Christ's ancestors, according to the flesh, should, comparatively, be few ; and it seems not inconsistent with the great designs of essential Wisdom, that his progenitors should, like Abraham, have their faith and patience long tried, by the discipline of a stedfast expectation. "They staggered not through unbelief, but against hope believed in hope."

MR. Yardley sees no occasion for inserting Joseph's name in this register, because he does not supply the place of one generation. *Genealogies*, p. 220. By this regulation is Jehoiakim restored to his rank as one of our Lord's progenitors : and thus is the threefold division completed without the defect or excess of a single name.

C H A P. VII.

*New Scheme of the Generations from ABRAHAM to
JESUS CHRIST.*

IN computation by TIME, whether absolute, or with reference to GENERATIONS; special regard is due to two terms, a first commencement, and a final period.

MOSES, in describing the formation of the universe, characterises a natural day by its parts, EVENING and MORNING, and counts three such days prior to the existence of the luminaries. The source of computation is that moment, when the Creator said, "LET LIGHT BE." As soon as this glorious production of Omnipotence was collected into that great orb the SUN, to the planets were assigned their circuits, "to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness." Hence the true origin of measured time by the motion of the spheres around the centre of light.

OF natural days are composed weeks, the most ancient combination of times into an integral part, by repetition, and, of all subsequent weeks, the primeval is, in its form and dimension, the model. In reckoning,

ing, however, it is itself excluded; that memorable day, on which the Almighty rested from all his works, being here considered purely as the first source of computation, by septenary systems of natural days.

IN like manner the reckoning by generations must proceed. When a first ancestor is found in history, the genealogist considers him only as the father of his race, a term of commencement, the point whence generations begin. Suppose a long roll, in the lineal, or sometimes perhaps, the collateral series progressively, continued to the passing age, the living representative of that first ancestor is left out, and the intermediate descents are alone counted.

FOR example: "This is the book of the generations of Adam; in the day that God created man." Adam, not having a human father and mother, was not *generated*; neither can it properly be said, that he was one of his own offspring. The roll is brought down to Shem, the 10th from Adam exclusively. Shem was born in a specified year of Noah's life. That year is the date of the 10th generation, and its final period is the year of Arphaxad's nativity. On this principle, the intermediate descents from Adam to Shem, excluding both, are nine generations, and no more.

WHY should it be presumed, that the Evangelist, in constructing his Catalogue, adopted a different mode in computation? "The book of the generation of JESUS CHRIST, the son of DAVID, the son of ABRAHAM." Abraham could not be one of his own progeny; and Jesus Christ certainly was not one of his own human progenitors.

progenitors. What if this *new scheme* should serve as a key framed for opening the mysteries, involved in the genealogies of both TESTAMENTS, by restoring to the Evangelist's register those names in the original records, which either by accident, ignorance, or injudicious criticism, have been retrenched from the first chapter of the gospel history * ? The Evangelist, in his triple division of names, invariably connects historical events with persons, and consequently chronology with generations. This happy union of middle terms, in computation, merits the heedful regard of all, who, with the probability of success, enter into disquisitions on this complicated subject.

“ IN regard three estates of the Hebrew commonwealth were more remarkable ;—as first in a state of growth or increase, and governed by patriarchs, prophets, and judges, to the time of David (no account being taken of the time of Saul, which was tragical and unhappy, and hastened by the precipitate desires of the people, before the time which God had chosen for the monarchy) ; next, its regal state, as it was governed by a race of kings from David to the time of the Babylonish captivity ; and lastly, in its weaker state of declension and dependence, as this abolition of the regal power was followed by a succession of ducal governors and chief priests, who ruled with the assistance of the

* The author ventures to call this attempt a *new scheme*, because he has not seen it suggested by any of the judicious and learned critics, in any of their works, (to which he has had access), in considering this subject.

Sanhedrim till Herod's assumption of the government, not long before the birth of Jesus.—It was St. Matthew's view to divide so long a tract of time, with an eye to these remarkable changes in the government. This is agreeable to the method of most historians, when they would give a succinct view of any nation, from first to last (as of the Romans for example, who were governed first by kings, then by consuls, dictators, and decemvirs, and last of all by emperors); and it might give an intimation, that upon the birth of Christ, at a like distance of generations with the former, another change of affairs might be expected in the erection of that kingdom, which should never be destroyed *."

THE four historical events to which the Evangelist alludes, and which this quotation exemplifies, in the commencement, progress, and end of the thrice XIV. generations, are, the call of Abraham, when the first notable distinction between his elect progeny and the profane gentiles took place:—the full establishment of that singular and marvellous constitution, the Hebrew polity:—its dissolution by the first overthrow of the city and temple, together with the temporary dispersion of the Jews:—the consummation of the law by Moses, and the departure of Judah's sceptre, with the vacancy of David's throne.

SUFFICE it to observe, in general, that the chronological characters of these events need not be so accurately distinguished, by years, months, and days, as in

* Berriman's Boyle Lect. vol. ii. Sermon v.

the foregoing historical arrangements. Neither is so much precision requisite in determining what individuals belong to the end of one series, or the beginning of another, as has been employed to preserve an agreement between chronology, and the course of nature in procreation. The true intent of this triple division does not demand investigation so minute, or dates fixed with such exactness. It is, however, fit to apply this remark to the particular periods already mentioned, lest the notations of time, and of family descents, which the Evangelist has, in every stage, been so attentive to connect, should be disjoined.

I. The absurdity of making Abraham stand in the front of that catalogue, which professedly contains the names of his immediate and remote descendants, suggests the expedient of considering him only as the primary source of computation, and not as the first name in the first series of XIV. generations.

MUCH more proper it were to begin with the time of his death. Nor is it necessary to bring the term of reckoning so low. The date of the sojourning is much more reasonable. But the most commodious of all may be the time of Isaac's birth, that branch of the revered patriarch's family, in whom blessings for all nations were reserved.

Objection.

The intermediate Generations from Abraham to Solomon, excluding both, are thus reduced to thirteen.

ON the hypotheses of all those respectable expositors who have taken in hand to adjust the computation and numbers

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numbers of the *Evāngelīst*, to the Hebrew records, admit that he might, without incurring the censure of a deviation from truth, select such names as were suitable to his views, and sometimes omit two or three descents in succession, together with the usual distinction between immediate and remote descendants, or between those of the direct and transverse line: nay, that he might insert fewer names than 14 in one series, and more in another, provided all three contained nearly the number 42. Those who approve such loose positions, have no right, in the present case, to urge the objection, which is frivolous. But as this solution may be pronounced unsatisfactory and evasive, a direct reply may enforce conviction, when a subterfuge can bear no stress.

It has been noted, on Ruth, iv. 20. that the original text reads, (and, for any thing alleged to the contrary), in all its copies, "Nahshon begat Salmah, and Salmon begat Boaz." If Salmah were the son, and Salmon the grandson of Nahshon, David certainly was the 14th in descent from Abraham exclusively. The restoring of this name to the catalogue surmounts two difficulties, more perplexing than the objection. 1. It shortens the space between generations from Nahshon to David; and, 2. Obviates the physical impossibility of the supposition, that Rachab was the mother of Boaz by Salmon. If, on the other hand, she were the wife of Salmah, she was also the grandmother of Boaz. Thus Chronology accords with the course of nature, and the Hebrew text with the *Evangelist's* first series of

XIV. generations. But, even without recourse to this expedient, the register may be completed, consistently with chronology and history, which is now to be evinced.

II. THE time with which the second series begins is characterised by no determinate period in history. David projected the building of the temple, Solomon executed the work according to the model given, and with the funds laid up for that purpose. If the Evangelist connected the chronology with this period of the history, it seems an indifferent matter whether he considered the 13th. generation from Abraham, as current, or the 14th as begun. It was his design to retain the division of Christ's ancestors exemplified in their history; the first and last class being private persons, the second kings; and as David was the first of this intermediate rank, the division comes near to equality, even though Solomon be counted the last of the first series. If, as Dr. Berriman not improperly conjectures, this triple distribution were made, rather with a reference to the political changes of the Hebrew government, in its rise and growth, declension and dismembered state, partial dissolution, and loss of independence, than to a minute distinction of generations;—then the first period ends with Solomon, at the time of his demise, when the kingdom, divided against itself, was verging to the period of extinction.

III. The transportation to Babylon is an event described with such latitude, as admits either Josias, Jehoiakim, or Jeconias, to be placed at the top of the third series, regard being still had to the triple division
for

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for arrangement ;—chronology, genealogy, and history. If Josias be preferred, all the three are in perfect unison.

IV. THE last period, with which the third series terminates, the Evangelist defines by the time of Herod's death, and of his son's accession. If this notation be connected with the Roman history, this last number of the last series is brought into coincidence with the reign of Augustus, under whom the fourth empire rose, and the foundation was laid of a kingdom never to be destroyed. Thus even the testimony of prophecy ascertains the final period of the thrice XIV. generations.

Result of this new Scheme.

Series I.	II.	III.
1. Isaac.	1. Rehoboam.	1. Josiah.
2. Jacob.	2. Abijah.	2. Jehoiakim.
3. Judah.	3. Asa.	3. Jehoiachin.
4. Pharez.	4. Jehoshaphat.	4. Salathiel.
5. Hezron.	5. Jehoram.	5. Zorobabel.
6. Aram.	6. Ahaziah.	6. Abiud.
7. Aminadab.	7. Jehoash.	7. Eliakim.
8. Nahshon.	8. Amaziah.	8. Azor.
<i>Salmon.</i>		
9. Salmon.	9. Uzziah.	9. Sadoc.
10. Boaz.	10. Jotham.	10. Achim.
11. Obed.	11. Ahaz.	11. Eliud.
12. Jesse.	12. Hezekiah.	12. Elcazar.
13. David.	13. Manassch.	13. Matthan.
14. Solomon.	14. Amon.	14. Jacob.
		<i>Joseph.</i>
		<i>Christ.</i>

IN the first series Salmah's name, though without a number, is retained. From an inviolable regard to fidelity, a character essential to just criticism, the author is constrained to acknowledge, that he is at a loss how to determine this doubtful article in computation. On a serious examination of the arguments on either side, (for this subject is now, for the third time, resumed), he, with a mixture of caution and diffidence, exhibits his singular opinion to public view.

I. The names *Salmah* and *Salmon* are uniformly expressed, as distinct persons, in the Heb. text of Ruth, iv. 20 and 21, without the discordant authority of one various reading; and this distinction is preserved in Queen Elizabeth's English Bible, printed by Robert Barker in 1610.

II. IF the distinction be admitted, the length of the generations from Nahshon to David, (406 years for four generations) is happily abbreviated to a nearer conformity with nature, by adding one descent:

III. RACHAB the mother of Boaz, if she be supposed the same who entertained the spies, (which the Evangelist doth not affirm), must have been either superannuated or dead before the time of his birth. But if his mother were a descendant from, or a kinswoman, of the first Rachab, in the transverse line, the difficulty is surmounted; and this first Rachab might have been the wife of Salmah, and that marriage celebrated soon after the passage over Jordan.

IV. BY this distinction, David is the 14th in descent
from

from Abraham, exclusively, in perfect agreement with the decisive report of Matt. i. 17.

Objections.

1. *The text in Ruth is a single authority, and contradictory to all the subsequent registers, particularly to that in the first chapter of the gospel by Matthew.*

Answer. THE position is inapposite, and the inference inconsequential. Sundry important notations depend on the authority of one solitary text; for instance, the specification of 480 years for the interval from the egress to the fourth year of Solomon. This space is much too long for four generations from Nahshon, on the common supposition that Nahshon was cut off in the wilderness, that Salmon, who married Rachab, was his immediate son, and that this Rachab was the mother of Boaz by Salmon. But insert Salmah, the computation is brought within the limits of physical probability. It involves no absurdity to conjecture, that *Salmah* was omitted in the other registers, as is Salmon in 1 Chron. ii. 12. As to the catalogue in the first chapter of Matthew, before the omission can be allowed to have any force, it ought to be certified, that the names Ahazias, Joaz, and Amazias, were at any time found in any one copy. If they were, that one copy has unhappily eluded the industry of Mill, Kuster, Wetstein, and Bowyer. These three names occur in all the Old Testament pedigrees, and as essential parts of Matthew's roll, are here restored. In all the records the
loss

loss or change of names might naturally proceed from the same cause. A copyist with the fullest intention of executing an accurate transcript, directing his eye from Ohozias, Matt. i. 8.; after engrossing this word in his parchment, might, on returning to the volume, find Ozias, and misled by the similitude of words, leave out the intermediate clauses, and so retrench three generations from the catalogue. In the like manner might one copyist of the first book of Chronicles omit *Salmon*; and another overlook *Salmah* in Matthew. The original text, in Ruth, seems to have been read thus: "Nahshon begat Salmah, and Salmah begat Salmon, and Salmon begat Boaz," &c.

2. *It may be objected, that most of the ancient and modern versions of Ruth leave out Salmah.*

IT is replied, that this is true with respect to the Septuagint, and may also hold with respect to others. But versions may uniformly be erroneous, and can merit no credit in opposition to the original text, as often as it exactly harmonises with the truth of chronology, history, and nature; which is the case with the text under review.

3. *The admittance of SALMAH into the Evangelist's roll renders impracticable a hint formerly suggested, intimating the possibility of restoring to Matthew's catalogue the names of Jehoiakim and Abaziah.*

Answer. THIS objection is, in its utmost force, admitted. But it must be recollected, that the former computation, framed on the vulgar system, presupposes that the names of Abraham and Jesus Christ are necessary

fary to complete the register of thrice XIV. generations. This NEW SCHEME excludes both, under the notion of implying a palpable absurdity. Jehoiakim is extant in the roll, under the equivalent name of the first Jeconias; the difference being no more than a variation of dialect.

THE only question now remaining for a solution is, Whether ought Salmah or Ahaziah to be admitted? If both be received, the list is redundant; but deficient, if both be left out. To preserve every criterion of congruity between the genealogical registers of the Old and New Testament, with respect to chronology, history, nature, and the proper distribution of the triple series, into three equal parts, Salmah has every claim to the preference.

IN the case of Ahaziah, it has above been suggested, that his son Joash was born in the very year of his grandfather Jehoram's demise; and that, should his immediate father, Ahaziah, be omitted in the catalogue of descents, no blank in time would be the result; and though the Evangelist, most probably, inserted his name, yet left this discovery in computation to the sagacity of his readers;—a point now no less obvious, than that Abraham and Jesus Christ are not comprehended in the intermediate generations; that it is requisite to include Salmah in the first series, to the end that it may terminate in David; that Joash and Amaziah were transcribed into the original roll from the chronicle of the kings in the second series; and that the third properly begins

begins with Josiah, and ends with Jacob, Joseph of Nazareth's father *.

THIS cautious and well-meant attempt to reconcile the sacred genealogies with truth and nature, was neither undertaken, nor conducted, with the view of recommending the correction of the inspired oracles, in the original text of either Testament ;—a power which it is supposed no particular Christian church will, in this age of the world, assume or execute. The author's sanguine wish is to suggest a few hints, for the use of the sacred order, in their endeavours to elucidate the Bible from the pulpit or the press. This invaluable code of divine knowledge, after every effort to unfold its precious contents, still continues, in many respects, a sealed book to many of its readers.

* Unwilling to incur the imputation of rashness, in adding a new name to the register, the author has affixed to Salmah no number, while Ahaziah is marked as the 6th in the second series. Those judicious readers who acknowledge the force of the four reasons alleged in favour of Salmah, p. 296, are left at liberty to prefix the number 9 to his name, and to expunge 6 before Ahaziah. By the arrangement here proposed, necessary it was to restore four names from the Hebrew records ; but omitted by the Evangelist. Ahaziah, it has been shewn, *must* be included in the list of kings, but *may* be omitted in the line of Christ's progenitors, because the tale of intermediate years is the same, and the *genealogy complete*.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Luke's Edition of the Genealogies.

THE differences arising from the two registers have employed so many pens, that even an abstract of the opinions, adopted by several authors, would fill a volume. The reader who desires to see them, must apply to their works, of which he may find a large catalogue in Poole's Synopsis, or in Barradius's Commentary. Those who would take a cursory view of this subject, may derive much satisfaction from a treatise, of which the title is expressed in the note *.

THE former Evangelist, it is commonly said, wrote his gospel for confirming the faith of the believing Jews; this for the information of the converts from paganism; and each constructed his catalogue suitably to his ultimate design; the one tracing Christ's pedigree from the father of the twelve tribes, the other

* *La Genealogie de Jesus Christ; avec demelement des Difficultes qui se rencontrent dans cette Genealogie, par M. Guillard.* Leyd. 1683. See Pilkington's Notes on the Evangel. History, § 14.; also Grotius, South's Sermons, vol. iii. Trapp, Yardley, Berriman, above quoted,

from

from the first progenitor of mankind. The final result is conviction, the method pursued dissimilar, but the accounts not contradictory; and the number of generations, though unequal, yet exempt from the suspicion of fallacy. The Jews were in possession of a regular history, from the time they became a distinct people; and, therefore, Matthew adopted the *descending* series from their first settlement in Canaan, to the then passing age. But as the Gentiles had no records of equal authenticity, and no certain knowledge of the earliest times, Luke began with the most recent period of tradition, and thence proceeded from stage to stage, in the *ascending* series, to that point, beyond which the computation by historical years, and by generations, cannot be continued.

THE rolls from Adam to David agree in the names with no variation, but such as results from the difference of languages and dialects. The number too is the same, with one sole exception, that of

1. *The second Cainan.*

ON the authority of this Evangelist, supported by that of the Greek Pentateuch, has the existence of this spurious patriarch been generally believed in the Christian church, from the fourth to the now expiring century. So inveterate is this persuasion, so many and pertinacious its advocates, that those who suspect an interpolation almost incur the uncharitable suspicion of heresy. After a brief history of this controversy, Shuckford expresses his conviction, that the name is surreptitious.

surreptitious. His decision, with the reasons for it, is here transcribed, as the most probable, perspicuous, and concise.

“ EUSEBIUS and Africanus, both of them, besides other writers, took their accounts of those times from the LXX., and yet have no such person, as Cainan, among the post-diluvians. 2. They did not admit his name from carelessness, for by the number of generations and of years, which they compute from Shem to Abraham, it is plain they knew of no other name than they have given us; therefore, 3. The ancient copies of the Septuagint, from which Africanus and Eusebius wrote, had not the name of Cainan *. 4. This name

omit

came

* This position is controvertible, if not false. More probable it is, that both these fathers found this name in their copies of the Gr. Pentateuch, but, suspecting it to be interpolated, would not mention it on authority so very equivocal. It certainly was extant in that version, long before the Christian era. For Yardley, who contends that the name is genuine, quotes the same Eusebius, who has preserved a fragment of Alex. Corn. Polyhistor, 86 years before Christ. The passage was copied by Polyhistor, from Demetrius the historian, who flourished 170 years before the Christian era, and is to this effect: “ From Adam to the time when Joseph’s relations went down into Egypt, are 3624 years.” Yardley remarks; “ From which fragment it plainly appears, 1. That Demetrius follows the chronology of the LXX. 2. That their chronology was, at that time, (within about 70 years after this version was first made), the very same that it now appears to be: and 3. That Demetrius doth, and the LXX. interpreters then did, include this second Cainan, and insert the years to him appertaining. For without these years, the foresaid calculation will fall short exactly

came into the Septuagint copies, through the carelessness of some transcriber, who from inattention inserted an ante-diluvian name, (for such a person *was* before the flood), among the post-diluvians, and having no numbers for his name, wrote the numbers belonging to Salah twice over. 5. Other copies being taken from that erroneous one, the name of Cainan in time came to be generally inserted. 6. St. Luke did not put Cainan into his genealogy; but, 7. Learned men finding it in the Septuagint, and not in this gospel, some transcribers marked in the margin of their copies this name, as thinking it an omission. 8. Later copiers and editors, finding it thus in the margin, took it into the text *."

FROM the post-diluvian genealogy this second Cainan is excluded by the Samaritan copy. Josephus was extremely cautious of giving a spurious patriarch a place in the Hebrew register, and, from this principle, would not admit Cainan as a son of Arphaxad. But, after very solemn protestations of translating from the sacred records, he adopted the enormously magnified numbers of the Greek chronology, and, without hesitation, added to the age of about 15 fathers, at the birth of their specified sons, 100 years, and thus en-

exactly 130 years." Genealogy, p. 118. Dr. Winder affirms that the amplified chronology of the Gr. Pent. was coeval with the first formation of that version, in the time of Ptolemy by the translators. Hist. of Knowl. Part i. p. 240.

* Connex. vol. i. p. 280.

larged the period from Adam to Abraham, about 15 centuries, and evinced his unfaithfulness as a translator.

THE writers of the Samaritan copy, the translators of the Greek version, and Josephus, all impelled by a partiality in favour of an incredible antiquity, to which Moses made no claim, are inconsistent with one another, and with themselves, in many notations of time. The Hebrew Pentateuch, whence all the others were professedly taken, either as transcripts, or versions, agrees in all its copies, as well those now extant, as others of which any fragments or quotations occur in history. In computation it is an infallible axiom, that an original deed, or which is equivalent, numerous copies of it, taken at diverse times, and all in perfect concord, without the least variation of numbers, are of preferable credit to translations, justly suspected of wilful corruption, to gratify national pride.

WITH the Christian fathers the Greek version had obtained all the regard and authority, due to the venerable original, with which many of them were but very little acquainted. They propagated a malicious clamour against the Jews, as if they had, by general consent, abbreviated the primitive Mosaic chronology, in order to elude the predictions relative to the time of the Messiah's appearance, and to perplex computation.

BEFORE the final overthrow of the temple a fraud of this magnitude was impracticable, and since the general dispersion, physically impossible. As if the affirmative had been fully proved, with all the specialities of time, place, persons, and circumstances, the cla-

mour has of late been renewed by Whiston, Jackson, Kennicott; and last of all by Dr. L. Geddes, who in an English version of the Pentateuch, inserts the spurious Cainan, and introduces into the xith chapter of Genesis all the exaggerated numbers of the Alexandrian interpreters, under the equally audacious and false pretence of translating from a correct copy of the original; and lest he should incur the suspicion of believing the divine authority of the sacred text, scruples not to repeat his professions, that he does not suppose Moses to have written under the influence of inspiration.

DR. Winder, in the passage above quoted, suggests a very forcible reason for the opinion, that the Hebrew chronology was not abbreviated by the Jews, but enlarged by the first Greek translators;—"because the latter had a visible end to be answered by it; viz. that of magnifying their antiquities according to the humour of that age; and when there was scarce any danger of detection:—greater, I say, was the probability of corrupting the Greek version, than of altering the Hebrew text, at a time when it could answer no end, against either Christians or Pagans; and when it would be almost impossible to escape the detection of the Christian critics, who were NOW * as much concerned as the Jews themselves to study the Hebrew.

2. *Harmony*

* NOW the author must refer to the second century of the Christian era, when Whiston wildly surmises that the Jews mutilated the chronology of their Pentateuch. As if the fact
had

2. *Harmony of the Genealogies from Arphaxad to Nathan.*

NOT only in the two Evangelists, but in the Septuagint version, the Samaritan copy, and Josephus, are the names of the descendants from Shem, and the sum
of

had been fully proved by direct historical evidence, Jackson and Kennicott revived the slanderous calumny against the Jews of that age; and, in this paragraph, Winder vindicates them from that aspersions, on the great improbability of the attempt, and the certainty of detection. Whatever characteristical blemishes stain the reputation of that infatuated people, invariably zealous they always were to preserve the purity of their sacred code. In this respect they exactly resemble the practice of the modern Romish church, which has preserved inviolate the original text; but pronounced one of its ancient versions equal in authority. Thus the Jews kept their records unvitiated, but preferred the less certain guidance of oral tradition; and the Romanists, in a less remote period, followed their example. Neither party suspected, that though they faithfully performed the office of DEPOSITARIES, yet they kept in safe custody the sure evidences, that the one had grossly corrupted Judaism, the other Christianity: and both, like the wicked and slothful servant, who hid his Lord's talent in a napkin, are judged out of their own mouths.

The author alludes to an age, when it was the humour to magnify the antiquity of nations. It first prevailed in Egypt, the very region where the Greek version of the Pentateuch was fabricated, and subsequent to the time of Herodotus, whom the national priests had misled by exaggerated traditions of a very remote origin, unsupported by historical records. Manetho and Eratosthenes in the same century gave a fresh impulse to the vanity of a credulous age; and the Alexandrian

of generations the same, down to the nativity of Abraham, Cainan excepted. Hence to the demise of David the evangelical pedigrees agree with the Hebrew records, and with one another.

3. *Variations from David to Zerobabel.*

“THAT the difference in the two pedigrees is owing to the different methods in which they are deduced, and not to want of truth in either, may be argued on the following accounts. 1. Because the Jews allowed the main point, that Jesus was of David’s family; so that the Evangelist had no need of invention or artifice to prove it. 2. Had they designed to falsify, they would have avoided all variation as much as possible, and delivered their account with the greatest appearance of consistency. So that their very variation is a proof of their simplicity and freedom from any design of combination or imposture. These considerations are of greater weight to defend the integrity of the Evangelists, and our Lord’s pedigree from David, than

interpreters, to protect the Jews from the supposed infamy of an upstart race, enlarged the genealogical numbers of Moses, in their new version, but suffered the genuine notation, which remain at this day, to continue as they found them. This criticism supercedes Shuckford’s fourth remark, that Cainan’s name was first introduced by the negligence of a transcriber, posterior to the first formation of the Gr. Pent. For if the numbers were then first enlarged to falsify the chronology, needless it is to connect with a less recent date the interpolation of a spurious patriarch, which fallacious artifice adds 130 years to the chronology of that period.

the difference, observed between them, can be to overthrow it, even though we were not able to conjecture the reason of such difference."

"BUT to come nearer to the point, we are not without all conjecture, what different methods the Evangelists might use, in their deduction of the pedigree, which might lead them into this variety;" (nay render it unavoidable): "so that, though their accounts are not perfectly the same, yet both may be true, and both consistent: and, though we cannot demonstrate, after all, that our account is certainly right, yet it is enough for the part of a respondent, that it may be so, for ought we know to the contrary. This effectually takes off the force of the objection; so that nothing can be concluded against us from the appearing variety. Two schemes principally have been offered for the reconciliation of this difficulty." "The first is that of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and whose notion, in this matter, is both stated and approved by Eusebius;—that the two Evangelists have drawn out the pedigree of Joseph, in two different views, the *natural* and *legal* method."

"THE second scheme of reconciliation is,—that Matthew has given us the pedigree of Joseph, and Luke that of Mary; that so, from both Evangelists together, we might have a double pedigree from David, the one in the line by Solomon, the other by the line of Nathan*."

* Berriman's Sermons, vol. i. serm. v. p. 125, &c.

THIS judicious writer sets forth the merits of either scheme, the objections to each, with the answers; and affirms the propriety of both. In an *Analysis*, a more minute discussion is needless.

THE generations in Matthew from David to Abiud, excluding both, as likewise Ahaziah, are 19, as before stated, and the mean proportion of time cannot be ascertained, because the interval from the birth of Jeconiah to Abiud is not known. If Zorobabel with his father Salathiel be omitted, the descents are 17, ending with the year of Jehoiachin's captivity, A. M. 3410. Let the year of Solomon's birth, in 2971, be the source of computation: then the less number, deducted from the greater, leaves 428; and this sum, divided by 17, quotes 25 years two months for the common interval.

IN Luke's catalogue, from David to Neri, in the line of Nathan, are 20 generations. But it merits enquiry whether a deduction be not admissible. Irenæus, Africanus, Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerom, Augustin, and, on their authority, Grotius, with several other modern critics, reject Levi and Matthat *. Some of those fathers it seems surmised, that 72 new languages were framed at the confusion of tongues, and that this number was equal to the generations from Adam to Christ. This is a fanciful association. It is however said, that they, on this notion, expunged from the register Levi and Matthat, together with Cainan. A

* Luke, iii. 24.

much better reason occurs. Fully were they persuaded, that none of all the three names had a place in the Evangelist's autograph, or in its earliest transcripts. In the days of Irenæus all three began to appear. He and others rejected them as spurious. But as it was, in that age, a vulgar prejudice, that the new tongues, which originated from Babel, and the progenitors of Jesus Christ, were equal in number, those who did not *assent* to this notion, might by that mode of reasoning, called *argumentum ad hominem*, declare their *dissent* from the reception of Cainan, Levi, and Matthat, into the list. Cainan belongs to a former class, and is already reprobated. But Neri, as the last of this series, may, by a former rule, be left out: and thus the generations in private life, are, for the same period, equal to those in the royal calendar from David, that is, 17 descents in 428 years.

4. *Variations from Zerobabel to Joseph and Mary.*

IN this, as in the foregoing section, the names are entirely different; but the subject of discussion is the variation of generations, with respect to number, in the same period of time.

MATTHEW's register exhibits 12 generations from Jeconiah to Jacob, the father of Joseph. From the historical year of the incarnation, A. M. 4004 *, deduct the year of Jeconiah's birth, 3392, the difference is 612. This sum divided by 12, the common quantity

* The number is properly expressed, for Usher gives 4000, the vulgar reckoning 4008. The historical year is 4004.

of a generation is precisely 51. This mediate space exceeds the descents from kings; though, in the former series by kings and private families, the proportion was equality.

then IN the roll by Luke, from Jeconiah to Heli, the mother of Mary, are 21 generations; by which sum divide 612, the mean proportion is 29. Sometimes one life is the double of two in co-existence and succession; sometimes two generations are equal to three in a series. The difference here is very considerable.

" It is no wonder, or any reasonable objection, that variation, or seeming inconsistency, should be in the account of our Lord's genealogy, by the two Evangelists. Those, who are acquainted with the customs of the Jews know, that many genealogies seem repugnant, and are not so. That may happen various ways, as may easily be proved from several books, which the Jews and we jointly acknowledge. Besides, several are the methods of reconciling these difficulties, though it is sometimes hard to say which is the best, at the distance of so many ages; all memory, and even records of these things, being utterly lost.*** Were the particular difficulties more and greater than they are, one general answer would be sufficient. Had this genealogy, as drawn by the two Evangelists, been false or inconsistent, in any one instance, the Jews, who were
then

then living, when the gospels were published, could not but know it; and, being mortal enemies to Christianity, could not but expose it to all the world: and this must have utterly ruined the credit of both these gospels; which we know is not the case.*."

BETWEEN Moses and the Evangelists is a striking similarity of manner in their common character, as historiographers. He wrote such strange accounts of strange things, as were not likely to obtain credit, the production of a universe from nothing, the destruction of the whole earth by a deluge, with the exception of a small stock, for the restoration of mankind, and animals of every species. They reported the birth of a son by a virgin mother, and the redemption of mankind by his death on a cross, which doctrine some accounted foolishness, and was to others a stumbling block. Neither he nor they betrayed the least suspicion that they might incur the censure of collecting and transmitting a mass of absurd paradoxes, impossibilities, contradictions. No apology they offered for the seemingly incredible things they recommended to the belief of the world; no anxiety did they discover about consequences, with respect to themselves; yet with an ardour of charity and zeal, with all the powers of persuasion, did they beseech, implore, and intreat, those to whom they were sent, to consult their own most important interests. Here is every criterion of knowledge and veracity, of

* Trapp's Notes on Matt. i. 1—13.

a sober mind, and of superiority to popular opinion. These Evangelists did not mean to contradict one another; each had a distinct part of the same subject; and both, [Matthew and Luke], it must be presumed, executed their design with all the precision, required in faithful historians *.

* The Jews, in common with the Christians, hold, that the Messiah was to proceed from David; and what objection was more pertinent than THIS, that though the apostles did preach the natural descent of Jesus from David, yet as he had no earthly father, they did not give a true and regular genealogy from David to Mary. This objection would have been much more forcible, than those many trifling cavils, which the modern Jews have brought, or their forefathers had alleged against the truth of the gospel. To obviate this objection, after Matthew had given the natural descent of Joseph from Abraham; the Holy Spirit directed the pen of Luke to record the genealogy of Heli, the father of Mary, the mother of Jesus, from David, the king, from Abraham, the father of the Hebrews, and from Adam, the father of all mankind. See Yardley on the Genealogies, page 353, &c.

A P P E N D I X.

Strictures on Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS prodigy of genius, while exploring the laws of nature, devoted occasionally a vacant hour to the history of time, with the measures of which he was well acquainted ; and in such researches, intricate as is the subject, found relief from the fatigue of investigating those general principles, which pervade the still more complex mechanism of the universe.

“ He bound the sun
And planets to their spheres ! th’ unequal task
Of human kind till then. Oft had they roll’d
O’er erring man the year, and oft disgrac’d
The pride of schools, before their course was known
Full in its causes and effects to him,
All piercing sage ! who sat not down and dream’d
Romantic schemes, defended by the din
Of specious words and tyranny of names ;
But, bidding his amazed mind attend,

And

And with heroick patience years on years
 Deep-searching, saw at last the system dawn
 And shine of all his race, on him alone.
 The noiseless *tide of time*, all bearing down
 To vast eternity's unbounded sea,
 Where the green islands of the happy shine,
 He stemm'd alone; and to the source (involv'd
 Deep in primeval gloom) ascending rais'd
 His lights at equal distances, to guide
 Historian, wilder'd on his darksome way."

THIS elegant encomium * is, with one exception, just. Even the vast, capacious mind of Newton did not ascend to the *source of time*, but left it *involved in deep primeval gloom*. From the vulgar year of the nativity, as erroneously defined by Usher, A. P. J. 4709, (which is the true historical date), he pursues his researches, in the retrograde order, to the days of Eli, where he states the first synchronism of the Egyptian history with that of the Hebrews.

MUCH is it regretted, that he did not extend the line of investigation through the patriarchal ages, by the notations of an infallible chronology, (which happily combines GENEALOGY with HISTORY), back to the origin of things,—that point in *repeasured time* where genuine history begins, and beyond which chronology can go no farther. Not suspecting deception or error in the lucubrations of a metropolitan, who was

* Thomson's Poem to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton.

the ornament of his age, and had excelled all his predecessors in the singular art of HISTORICAL ARRANGEMENT, Sir Isaac stooped short, and excluded from his system the chronology of 28 centuries.

IN Sir John Marsham's Chronological Canon, this adventurous reformer of ancient computations found a rich mine of mixed ore, gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay; all in one mass; waiting the refiner's skill, and the operations of the furnace. Hence he derived an immense variety of materials, susceptible of a better arrangement, and a more perfect form. The result of a minute examination was a full conviction, that the antiquities of the Gentiles had been amplified by fiction, disguised under the mask of allegory, and derived belief from the credulity of an ignorant world.

THE CHRONOLOGY of ancient KINGDOMS amended, was not an attempt rashly projected, or its ingredients precipitately thrown together. About five months before the author's death he had an interview with Dr. Pearce, late bishop of Rochester, whom he informed, "That he had spent thirty years, at intervals, in reading over all the authors, or parts of authors, which could furnish any materials, for forming a just account of the Ancient Chronology;—that he had, in his reading, made collections from those authors, and had, at the end of 30 years, composed from thence HIS Chronology of ancient Kingdoms;—and that he had written it over several times, (it appeared afterwards, the bishop thought 16 times), making a few alterations in it, but what were for the sake of shortening

ening it (as the bishop gathered from his discourse), and leaving out, in every later copy, some of the authorities and references, on which he had grounded his opinions."

As this elaborate work was begun in the vigour of his faculties, so it was the subject of his thoughts, and the exercise of his hand, in the last period of his life, "A few days before he died, Dr. Pearce made him a visit at Kenfington, and dined with him. He found him writing over his *Chronology of ancient Kingdoms*, without the help of spectacles, at the greatest distance in the room from the windows, and with a parcel of books on the table casting a shade upon the paper. Seeing this, on my entering the room, (said the doctor), "Sir, you seem to be writing in a place where you cannot well see." His answer was, "Little light serves me." He then told me, that he was preparing his *Chronology* for the press, and that he had written the greatest part of it for that purpose *."

WITH many disadvantages, the almost unavoidable fate of posthumous works, this last and least perfect production of the venerable Sir Isaac Newton, was ushered into the world †. His work, as it is, has so great

* Bishop Pearce's Life, prefixed to his *Commentary on the Gospels*, &c. p. 42—44.

† Buchanan's History, without the benefit of his last revision, appeared about three weeks before his death, and he had the mortification to be told, that the printer had committed many egregious mistakes. Maclaurin dying with the pen in his hand, before he had finished his *ACCOUNT OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S*

great merit, that, with all its faults, no one publication on the subject contains so many valuable improvements. Perfection is a character incompatible with the most finished productions of human genius. Its principles new, bold, and rather deep than dark, amazed the illiterate, and puzzled the learned. Scarcely could it be expected, that even the most accurate practitioners, in the computation of *TIMES*, would instantly renounce the authority of hoary tradition, abjure tenets established by immemorial belief, and become proselytes to a system, incongruous with the prejudices of education, and constitutional habits of thinking.

The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, having divided the opinions of the best judges, experienced a kind of ambiguous reception. Its fate was neither that of many fungous productions ;—a premature death in infancy ;—the last, and not least severe, curse of unsuccessful authorship : nor summary reprobation on the score of literary imposture. In the very year of its publication, 1728, Bedford sent forth his *ANIMADVERSIONS*, and Whiston his *CONFUTATION*. These luminaries of their day elucidated several obscure parts of an abstruse subject. In their distinct performances are obvious signatures of erudition, acuteness, and candour, without credulity, adulation, sarcasm, and illi-

NEWTON'S Philosophical Discoveries, this work concludes with three asterics, to denote imperfection. With a similar fatality was his own *Chronology* exhibited to the public ;—a part not copied by the author, and the whole sent forth in the condition of a defenceless orphan.

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beral abuse. With the progress of TIME, Sir Isaac Newton's antagonists multiplied.

SO early as 1730, Shuckford in the Preface to his third volume of *Historical Connexions*, revived and strengthened the objection of the two authors, now mentioned, to Sir Isaac's *Astronomical Argument*, for bringing the date of the *Argonautic Expedition* three centuries lower than it had been settled by the *Old Chronology*; and, it must be confessed, left the great author's postulate and conclusion, under all the disadvantages (with respect to credibility), of scientific conjecture.

SQUIRE, in his *Defence of the Ancient Greek Chronology*, 1741, repeated the impulse on the mind of the public, and struck a deeper impression. It is there affirmed, that Chiron was no practical astronomer;—that he had not sufficient knowledge to mark out and distinguish the constellations in the zodiac from those in the other parts of the heavens;—that though his skill had been equal to the construction of an exact sphere, and for assigning to the equinoctial and solstitial points their *proper* places; yet such a sphere could not be of the least use to the Argonauts, in their short voyage from Thessaly to Colchis.

COSTARD, in his Letter to Sir Martin Folkes, on the *Rise and Progress of ASTRONOMY among the Ancients*, 1746, obliquely, yet with becoming decorum, reprehends this *Astronomical Argument*, while he respectfully conceals the author's name. "Some persons, too great to be mentioned without reverence, suppose, that
he

he [Chiron] formed the constellations for the use of the Argonauts. If, as it seems, he meant all those mentioned in the sphere of Eudoxus, it is more, I am afraid, than can well be allowed. That he might be an OBSERVER, indeed, is not improbable, being contemporary with those who were so."—Palamedes, Astræus, Nauplius, Atlas, &c. before mentioned.

THE last, but not the least successful, opponent to Sir Isaac's positions, concerning the *Greek Chronology*, is Dr. Musgrave in his EXAMINATION of the Objections to the Chronology of the OLYMPIADS, in 1772: to all which authors the inquisitive and learned reader is referred, for more ample information.

SOME principles in this very respectable philosopher's last, though least perfect work, at variance with those of a late right reverend divine, are combated, in the third volume of his *Divine Legation*, from p. 242 to 342, with less delicacy than zeal. Warburton was not a match for Newton in those parts of literature connected with the arts of calculation; but by an inherent vigour of genius, brought discredit on some of that illustrious author's conclusions, in his book of *Chronological Emendations*. Hooke, in the introduction to his *Roman History*, undertakes a vindication of Sir Isaac's arrangements from the objections of his several opponents, and after making several concessions, particularly the juniority of Rome with respect to Carthage, concludes in favour of the reformed chronology.

SIR Isaac Newton's amazing discoveries in the application of geometry and experimental philosophy to the system of nature, his ingenious Theory of Light and Colours, his Improvements in Universal Arithmetic, not to mention his very probable claim to the Invention of Fluxions, had, in his lifetime, procured him universal estimation, as the model of scientific perfection; and he was almost the singular example of genius having surmounted envy before death. But with slow caution, and not without numerous abatements and mortifying reservations, have the merits of his two last publications, *Observations upon the Prophecies*, and *The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms*, both posthumous, been admitted; though he had the felicity not only to improve, but adorn, every subject, to which he applied his masterly talents.

In each of these performances candid criticism must allow certain objections, stated by several learned men, to remain, either in part, or in their full force. But this concession does not divest that great man of the honours unquestionably due to him, on account of his happy elucidation of the prophetic style; and of his connecting a train of particular predictions, with the continuous series of genuine history;—neither of many important discoveries, the result of astronomy, chronology, and genealogy, applied with exquisite skill, and wonderful harmony of co-operation and effect, to the history of the EARLY AGES. Imperfection is inseparable from even the most elaborate productions of human

man genius. When the intricacy of the subject is considered, the oversights here are few and excusable*.

IN framing the prefixed ANALYSIS, several instances of defect in the plan, and of improper disposition in the order of the NEWTONIAN *Chronology* have occurred. These, not altogether excluding characters of imperfection or excellence, observed by other writers on the subject, are the ground-work of this APPENDIX, which is, for this reason, divided into two parts.

* "I have one general remark to make on Sir Isaac's book; that he finds fault with the earlier part of the Grecian history for having no chronology; and yet supposes, that when chronology, that is, technical chronology, was introduced by Timæus and others, the only use made of it was to falsify their history. This makes it necessary to explain, in a few words, my notion what chronology is, and what it is not. I say then, that the genealogy of a particular family, a series of kings or priestesses, a list of archons, or the records of a public solemnity, like the olympic games; none of these are chronology. But chronology is that science, which compares those lists, genealogies, and records together, and adjusts them to one another, making, if possible, one consistent whole. This is a work that requires, no doubt, the hand of a master, and it requires also an unprejudiced mind. For if the chronologer has any favourite point to establish, if, for instance, he be desirous of extending or contracting any particular period, he will be tempted to mutilate or stretch them out, as may best serve his purpose. The want of chronology with which Sir Isaac reproaches the Greeks, is a circumstance, which in another point of view may be considered as strongly supporting their credit." —Mufgrave, p. 224.

C H A P. I.

Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Chronology.

IN computing TIMES, Dodwell assumes, as fundamental, a reasonable postulate, "The Chronologer must proceed from known to less certain periods *." The primary term in computation, depending, as suggested in the subjoined note, on the quantity of measured time, from the first to the second Adam, and defined in the records, which Jews and Christians acknowledge to be of divine authority, merits the highest

* *A certioribus temporibus ad incertiora progrediendum. Dissertationes de Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis.* The times with which the New Testament history begins are no less known from authentic records, than those of the subsequent ages. Kennedy reverses the postulate, "Tempora quò antiquiora, eo certiora. This position is applicable to that period alone, with which the Old Testament history begins. The great difficulty, which has not heretofore been surmounted, is by comparing with itself, by the aid of borrowed light, the sacred history, for the intermediate space from the CREATION to the CHRISTIAN ERA. To fix the astronomical years, so as not to count incomplete for full, or to multiply their number by counting full years twice, has been attempted in the *Introduction* to the foregoing *Analysis*.

degree

degree of credit, because the vouchers, whence it is ascertained, are, of all others, the best attested, and the term, as in them, fixed most consonant with natural phenomena, the late origin of the most ancient civil establishments and national records, the slow progress, and continual improvements in arts, &c. Suppose this term uncertain, and these vouchers counterfeited, curious and skilful enquirers into the origin of HISTORICAL TIME are left in perplexity to determine whether the Mosaical chronology, or that of the Chaldees, Chinese, Egyptians, Gentoos, &c. merits the preference.

EVERY well informed and impartial enquirer must admit, that the Hebrew records, inspiration apart, are recommended by internal characters of consistency, method, order, and truth; not to be found in the annals of nations, who pretended a prior origin to the Hebrews, but were certainly much more recent. No alphabetical composition, on any subject, in the primitive language of Egypt, is mentioned in any old historian, even by its title, or a detached fragment. The Coptic alphabet is demonstratively, if not confessedly, modern. Manetho's Dynasties, originally the result of fiction and forgery, never had the lowest claim to credibility: and so much are they disfigured by deliberate changes of names, order, numbers, enlarged, omitted, mutilated, or transposed, that no guess can be made concerning their primitive contents or form. The Bible exhibiting every criterion of plan, method, and tendency to an ultimate end, is properly the subject of fair criticism, and never loses credibility, but always

acquires confidence, certainty, and every infallible character of truth, from those modes of trial, and tests of authenticity, which never fail to detect the fabrications of imposture.

SIR Isaac Newton, having built his Chronology on a foundation already laid, the ANNALS of Archbishop Usher, which had, before his time, obtained a general reception, went no farther back than the days of Eli, 28 full centuries subsequent to the Mosaical creation. But, as he did not avow his approbation of the received system, nobody knows, though it cannot reasonably be presumed, whether he did tacitly adopt the amplified antiquities of the Gentiles. The very first sentence of his work removes all such suspicion: "All nations, before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been prone to raise their antiquities; and this humour has been promoted between nations about their originals."

FARTHER, the Chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch is, in many instances, different from that of the Samaritan copy, of the Greek version, and of Josephus. In several copies these distinct authorities contradict one another, and all deviate from the original, which in all its transcripts, the Samaritan excepted, exhibits every where the same notations of number within the expressed period. Here are two reasons of preference, originality, and self confidence. Transcripts and versions are tried by their antitypes, as the supreme standard. Conformity is rectitude, and deviation the creature of error or unfaithfulness. Well known are the
agents,

agents, the times, and the probable causes of variation from the numbers of the venerable original, which none of the scribes or translators had the effrontery to corrupt. As they found, they left it—unvitiating by enlargement, mutilation, or change; and kept in custody the precious depositum, which eventually detected their breach of fidelity, as copiers or translators.

THE impulsive cause of amplifying the true Mosaiical computation was to rescue the nation of the Hebrews from the supposed ignominy of a recent origin, in compliance with the prevalent vanity of the Gentiles from the days of Herodotus to those of Josephus. It has been alleged that the Jews of the second century first abbreviated their chronology. This conjecture has already been obviated, by shewing the impossibility of such a fraud from the time of Moses to the Christian era; greater still was the difficulty of executing such a project, at a later period; for the Christians of the first century had got in possession the genuine oracles of inspiration.

THIS illustrious reformer of ancient chronology, taking his rise from the times of the later judges in Israel, has left it doubtful what edition of the Heb. Pentateuch he approved, whether the original text, or its transcripts and versions, as the model of true chronology. The numbers marked in the *Short Chronicle* express the years before the Christian era, as fixed by Usher. Where he is erroneous, and Sir Isaac's arrangements did not require a different date, he erred with his master; whence it is presumed, that his prime source

of computation is the number of the Julian Period 4710.

WERE this computation accurate, which it is not, Usher antedates the dispersion by a term of years, which affects the credibility of Moses in his historical character, if the state of arts and population, at the close of the first century after the flood, be maturely considered. The interval, compressed within too narrow limits, violates physical probability. Moses affirms, that, "in the days of Peleg was the earth divided." Usher, after Josephus, refers that partition to the very year of that patriarch's birth. But the sacred historian's words may fairly be supposed applicable to any year of Peleg's life, whose age at death was 239; or to any year before the birth of Haran, (a brother of Abram), of whom it is recorded that he died in the land of his nativity. This notation of time presupposes the division of the earth. Who so well qualified to rectify this obvious prochronism as the renowned Sir Isaac Newton, whose powers of computation seem to have been intuitive? This point, the time of the general dispersion, would have opened to his view momentous discoveries, respecting the plantation of the first colonies, and the rise of the most ancient kingdoms. It would likewise have prevented the confusion, which, since his death, perplexes this subject, and is likely not to be soon removed. The authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, puzzled with the difficulties attending this period of the sacred chronology, and incapable of dispelling the darkness induced by the frivolous and false arrangements of inexperienced

chronologers and commentators, preferred the computations of the Samaritan copy, as more expanded than those of the Hebrew, and less extravagant than those of the Greek version. Nor has the licentiousness of innovation stopt here. Whiston, Hay, Jackson, and Kennicott, having revived the credit of the once exploded Septuagint, it is now the supreme and exclusive chronological directory; for one Geddes, in compliance with general opinion, has lately introduced into the English Pentateuch, the genealogical numbers in Gen. xi. from the Alexandrian interpreters, under the false pretence of translating from the Hebrew.

EVEN among those Christian writers, who adhere to the Hebrew computation, great is the discord of opinions, concerning the first point in time, which era Strauchius pronounces the gordian knot in chronology, never to be untwisted by the ingenuity of man. Petavius, Wallis, and others, have been so bold as to affirm that absolute certainty in this matter is not attainable, but by divine revelation.

UNREASONABLE it is to expect an immediate communication of supernatural light, to confirm the discoveries of the written word. If this point be not there revealed, it may safely be avoided, as one of those foolish and unlearned questions, which minister strifes, rather than promote edification. David Paræus, as quoted by Usher, pronounced those (who promised an exact astronomical table of time, from the first point of the creation unto Christ) more worthy of encouragement than praise, in that they attempted a thing above human

human capacity. Paræus was then among the latest writers, who took upon him to number the years, even to Christ's time, out of the holy scriptures; he, therefore, leaving the astronomical, betook himself to the politic time of the Hebrews, &c. In this business, Usher thought it an indifferent matter; what rule were applied to the measuring of time, so it were known, and terminated with a certain number of days. If any one could by some equal measure of years define the distance between the foundation of the world, and Christ's time; it were also most easy, without the help of astronomical tables, to set down how many equinoxes in number did happen, during that interval; and the noted revolution from one equinox to the same point again, what is it but a year, natural and truly astronomical? But, if any one well seen in the knowledge, not only of sacred and exotic history, but of astronomical calculation, and the old Hebrew calendar, shall apply himself to these studies, he judges it indeed difficult, but not impossible to attain, not only the number of years, but even of days, from the creation of the world*.

THESE expedients the very learned and judicious primate adopted, but, like Phaeton, without success:

In great attempts 'tis glorious e'en to fall.

To give a small epitome of the various opinions held by the best astronomers on this subject, Strauchius inserts

* Usher's Preface to his *Annals*.

half a hundred. Of these a few are here selected, which fix the creation to a date later than the seventh century of the Julian Period,

Yrs. M			Yrs. M.		
Jacobus Capellus	708	3	Joannes Micro-		
John Wichman	709	3	elius -	766	10
Usher and Simpson	710	9	Matthæus Bero-		
Dion. Petavius	730	9	aldus -	786	9
Philip Melancton	750		Jewish vulgar date	953	9
Scaliger, Calvi-			David Gantz	954	2
fius, &c.	764	9	Jewish lesser Chro-		
Christianus Sco-			nicle -	1044	8
tanus -	765	9			

THE Jewish vulgar computation abridges the chronology of their own annals by about 250 years. This mistake arose not from any deliberate or malicious design to corrupt their records, as many of the Christian fathers, Whiston, and his followers, most uncharitably affirm; for to preserve their records entire and pure, they have, in all ages, exemplified a laudable zeal;—but from a fatal ignorance in chronology and history. Misunderstanding the true Mosaical computation, they refer the birth of Abraham to the 70th, and not the 130th, of Terah, its true date. Thus are 60 years retrenched from the age of the world. Again taking Longimanus, Mnemon, and Ochus, for one and the same Artaxerxes, Nothus and Codomannus for one and the same Darius, they reduce the duration of the Persian empire from 204 to 48 years. In other instances they betray equally

equally striking proofs of ignorance in their own chronology, and in the history of the Gentile monarchies. These specimens alone establish the imputation of inaccuracy, from ignorance, not design.

“ As long as they [the Jews] continued in the east, they continued in the eastern usage of computation by the era of contracts, as they called that of the Seleucidæ ; but when, about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the east, and forced to remain in these western parts, and here settled in Spain, France, England and Germany, they learned from some of the Christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this era, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the Julian Period 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox in that year. But the true year of the creation, according to Scaliger's computation, was 189 years, and according to others, 249 years higher up than where this era of the Jews placeth it *.”

THIS very judicious critic and historian remarks, “ That the era from the creation is of very common use in chronology ; but this on account of its uncertainty he has rejected, most chronologers following different opinions, some reckoning the time sooner, some later, and scarce any two agreeing in the same year †.”

* Prid. Connex. Part i. p. 426, fol.

† Prid. Pref. page vii.

OF the pagan writers some maintained the eternity of the world, others affirmed, that it had a beginning; but all of this class professed their ignorance of the time. "If," says Censorinus, "the origin of the universe were known, I should thence begin to reckon. Whether time had a first source, or always did exist, the number of its years cannot be defined*." Ptolemy the astronomer asserts, "That the epoch of time lies beyond the limits of human knowledge†;" and Jul. Firmicus Maternus censures the rashness of those who pretend certainty in a matter so impenetrably dark ‡.

It has been shewn, that the Jews had no skill to connect the genealogical numbers of Moses, on which the chronology of the first AGES is constructed, or to apply to their own history the reigns of the Persian monarchs:—that they erred from ignorance;—and ought to be acquitted from the calumny of wilfully corrupting their records. In like manner has it been evinced, that of all the Christian chronologers, few have ascertained, to the satisfaction of the public, the precise quantity of the interval from Adam to our era.

HERE was a subject worthy the decision of Sir Isaac Newton;—a subject of doubt and perplexity, to the elucidation of which his penetrating, extensive, and vigorous faculties, were much more than commensurate. He either adopted implicitly the erroneous scheme of

* De Die Nat. c. 20, 21.

† Gr. Syntaxis, lib. iii.

‡ Mathes, l. iii. c. 2.

Usher's Annals, or perceived the fallacy, and thought it obvious to all the world.

THAT very accurate calculator, the late Mr. James Ferguson, acknowledges, "That he had studied chronology but very little *:" and censures his antagonist, "for pretending to have found out in what year of the Jul. Period the world was created:—a thing, about which not only Moses and the prophets have been silent; but even our Saviour and his apostles also:—and consequently a thing, which no man now can know, without an immediate revelation from Heaven, which we are not to expect †."

IN another part of his valuable works, Mr. Ferguson modestly remarks: "In fixing the year of the CREATION to the 706th year of the Jul. Period, which was the 4007th before that of Christ's birth, I have followed the Reverend Mr. Bedford, in his Scripture Chronology, printed A. D. 1730, and Mr. Kennedy, in a work of the same title, 1762. Mr. Bedford only takes it for granted, that the world was created about the time of the autumnal equinox; but Mr. Kennedy affirms, that the said equinox was about the noon of the fourth day in the creation week, and that the moon was then 24 hours past her opposition to the sun.—If Moses had told us the same things, we should have had sufficient data for the era of the creation: but as he has been silent on these points, we must consider

* Letter ii. to Kennedy, page 9.

† Letter i. page 3.

the best accounts of chronologers as hypothetical and uncertain *."

HERE is a proper mixture of censure and caution ; and both, in some degree misapplied ; for,

1. MOSES has actually afforded sufficient data for the date of the creation. He has told us that with the time of the Exodus a change of stile, by which the seventh month from the creation became the first from the release. Bedford and Kennedy rightly dated the formation of the solar system from the autumnal equinox ; and it is well known, that the Passover, an annual solemnity in the Jewish church, and to this day observed, was ordained about the time of the opposite cardinal point. The conclusion is, that a definite number of full years, and six supernumerary months, had elapsed from the primeval week to the first Passover.

2. BOTH Bedford and Kennedy, with every criterion of truth, fix the primeval week in astronomical coincidence with the autumnal equinox, and the last week of October, A. P. J. 706.

3. THOSE learned men mistook the true year of the Exodus, the former, misled by Usher's combination of numbers, refers the time to the year of the Julian Period 3218 ; whence deduct 705, the antemundan years of that period, the remainder, 2513, denotes the year of the world, the same with that in the Annals, though erroneously put in coincidence by the Primate with A. P. J. 3223. The latter, Kennedy, antedates the

* Astronomy, 1770, octavo, p. 379.

egress by one year, and is so much the farther from chronològical verity.

4. FROM the primeval week in the first of Adam's life, to the week of the Exodus, in the 80th of Moses; the intermediate space is precisely 2514 years six months, or 26 weeks to a day: $2515 + 705 = 3220$, the true number of the Jul. Period. Ferguson happily agrees with his two predecessors, as to that number of this period which characterises the primeval year; but all three, together with the Metropolitani, have miscalculated the year of the egress.

WITH great truth and justice does Ferguson censure the astronomical part of Kennedy's scheme; nor is his work more accurate in chronological arrangement. A train of scientific deceptions pervades the entire mass. Some few instances of reprehension seem to be overdone.

1. KENNEDY is blamed for affirming, that the time of the autumnal equinox was at the noon of the fourth day in the creation week, and that the moon was then 24 hours past her opposition to the sun. This calculation may be exceptionable. But the critic overstrains his antagonist's meaning, when he infers from his words, that the moon actually existed before the sun*. It implies no absurdity to suppose, that the two luminaries, in the moment of their creation, might have been in the position described by Kennedy, if so were the appointment of the Almighty Maker. Whether

* See Letter ii. to Kennedy.

the fact is capable of proof by the rules of calculation is a different matter. Ferguson's calculation may be more exact, though not absolutely certain.

THE result of his operation is, "that the true time of the autumnal equinox, for the longitude of Babylon, was October 23, at 19 hours, 22 minutes, 41 seconds, which in the common way of reckoning is October 24, at 22 minutes 41 seconds past seven in the morning." The author subjoins the following note: "The reason why this calculation makes the autumnal equinox, in the year of the Julian Period 706, to be two days sooner than the time of the same equinox mentioned in page 153, is, that in that page, the mean time only is taken into the account, as if there were no equation of the sun's motion."

"THE equation at the time of the equinox then, did not exceed an hour and a quarter, when reduced to time.—But in the year of Christ 1756, (which was 5763 years after), the equation at the autumnal equinox amounted to one day, 22 hours, 24 minutes; by which quantity the *true* time fell later than the *mean*. So that, if we consider the *true* time of this last mentioned equinox, only as mean time, the mean motion of the sun, carried thence back to the autumnal equinox, in the year of the Julian Period 706, will fix it to the 25th of October in that year."

HERE are two methods prescribed for ascertaining the time of the autumnal equinox, and fixing the sun's place to the sign Libra on the fourth day of the creation week. The former, by mean time, as more direct,

is preferable. The author refers to another calculation, (Example vi. p. 311), where it is shewn, that the true time of the full moon at Babylon was the 23d October, at 42 minutes 46 seconds past six in the morning. "This he (informs his readers) some suppose to have been the year of the creation; and the result is, that the autumnal equinox was on the next day after the day of the full moon. The Dom. Letter for that year was G, and consequently the 24th of October was on a Wednesday *."

LET the *true* time of the autumnal equinox, A. D. 1656, which the author considers only as *mean* time, be applied to the true time of the full moon on the day before the same equinox, in the number of the Julian Period 706; that full moon will fall within the limits of the same day with the primeval equinox. Scientifical precision can, perhaps, bring the approximation of the planetary positions to no greater exactness, with respect to a radical point in computation. It is requisite to reserve for astronomy all the credit due to its decisions, as far as they afford light in disquisitions so intricate and complicated; proper regard being still had to physical probability, to the different terms whence the natural and the civil day may be, or has been, computed, and to the unequivocal notations of the sacred historian.

2. BE it remarked, that light was produced before the luminaries. As soon as the terraqueous mass had ac-

* *Astron.* p. 316, 8vo. 1770.

quited its globular form, and began to move round its axis, the CREATOR said, "LET LIGHT BE." The effect was a distinction of evening and morning, equivalent to night and day. When the evening and morning had measured the third day, that is, about six of the clock, on the evening of our Wednesday, *about* the time of the autumnal equinox, God created the two great luminaries, in a state of opposition, the sun in the lower hemisphere to dispense light by emanation, and the moon in the upper, to reflect it on the intermediate globe of earth; the air having previously been framed for its transmission. At six of the clock, on the morning of Thursday, the 25th of October, the sun first rose at Babylon, on the northern hemisphere, twelve hours after the time of the full moon.

3. ASTRONOMERS, for the greater ease and certainty of observation, count the 24 hours from noon to noon; we in Britain, from midnight to midnight; the ancient Babylonians and others began the reckoning from the rising sun; the Jews from sun-set. Moses seems to compute from six in the evening, the middle point between noon and midnight.

4. MR. Kennedy was certainly licentious in assuming arbitrary postulates, under the sanction of Mosaical principles, which led him into absurd conclusions; and these he imposed on the public belief, with no small share of dogmatical empiricism. His Censor, Mr. Ferguson, disgusted with his overbearing humour, and exasperated by personal reproaches, especially in calling

him, "*an illiterate and incompetent judge,*" mixed an infusion of irritability with some of his strictures *."

MR. Kennedy was justly reprehensible for many precarious conjectures, set forth, in plausible disguise, as infallible axioms in the Mosaical chronology, which are the wanton fictions of his own excursive fancy.

THAT the autumnal equinox fell in the middle of the primeval week, A. P. J. 706, is a fact asserted by

* One instance, which seems a deviation from Mr. Ferguson's usual composure of temper, is selected from his First Letter, p. 2. "You may abuse me as much as you please; but however *illiterate* you take me to be, I believe I know the meaning of the few Hebrew words at the bottom of this page; which I need not explain to you, who are a good Hebrew scholar, and too well acquainted with your Bible to be at any loss where to find them. As many, who read this, may be quite ignorant of the Hebrew language, I shall neither give the English meaning of them, nor direct where to find them, because I would not willingly raise a laugh against you." The Hebrew words are from Prov. xxvi. 4., and thus rendered in our public version: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou be also like unto him."

That he was *illiterate* is a common, but a false allegation. He had the benefit of a classical education in a nobleman's family, under the tuition of an able preceptor, and no mean proficient in mathematical learning, which studies Mr. Ferguson afterward prosecuted under the famous Maclaurin. In many branches of learning he made no small progress without the aid of a master; and if he did not rise to eminent skill in the more abstruse mysteries of mathematical science, he excelled in the faculty of inventing middle terms for conducting experiments, and deducing important conclusions.

Moses

Moses though not in direct terms, yet by induction. That the full moon happened precisely 24 hours before the sun entered Libra in the same week Moses does not affirm, either in explicit terms, or by implication. Ferguson assigns an earlier date by almost five hours for the true time of that equinox, and anticipates the full moon by 25 hours. Yet neither the one nor the other meant to assert the strange paradox, that the earth's one satellite shone forth, in direct opposition to the sun, before his existence. Neither did he incur acrimonious censure for affirming, that the fourth day of the original week was the sixteenth of the original month. It is well known, that the Jews regulated all their computations for festivals, &c. from the first day of the first month, after the visibility of the moon; and it would be a very preposterous arrangement, to reckon the beginning of a month and year from a full moon. "From the moon is the sign of feasts, a light that declineth in her perfection. The month is called after her name *." The sacred year at the egress was counted from the day of the moon's visibility after the conjunction, and not from the next full moon, coincident with the 14th of the first month. An opposition of the two great luminaries implies a prior conjunction, whether within, or beyond the limits of antemundane duration.

MR. Ferguson allows Mr. Kennedy the merit of confirming what others had suggested;—the coincidence of the first day in the Jewish and Christian week with

* Eccclus. xliiii. 7.

the seventh of the patriarchal;—and the time of the crucifixion with the number of the Jul. Period 4746. This concession authenticates the date assumed for the creation, A. P. J. 706. For if either event be referred to any other year, the harmonious evidence arising from astronomy, chronology, history, and prophecy, like the confusion of tongues at Babel, becomes discordant*.

* Those superficial readers, whose minds have derived a tincture of scepticism from the romantic pretensions of the ancient and modern Orientals to a very remote origin, it may be difficult to persuade, that the solar system has not existed more than 58 centuries. But the objection is impertinent and absurd. For since it is impossible, that the world should be eternal, it *must* have had a beginning, and the time was, when it could not be older than it is now. If, therefore, it had existed earlier by millions of years, it might still, with equal reason, be asked, Why was not the universe created 10 times as many millions sooner? See this argument properly stated, in Dr. R. Jehkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, vol. ii. p. 204. Lond. 1721.

C H A P. II.

DEVIATIONS *from* HISTORICAL ORDER.1. *Accession of SAUL and Heroism of JONATHAN.*

“ I N the year before the Christian era 1069, Saul is made king of Israel, and, by the hand of Jonathan, gets a great victory over the Philistines *.”

HERE is a portentous confusion of incidents and dates. Usher connects the inauguration of the father with the year before Christ 1095, which antedates the true term by two years; and Sir Isaac brings it into coincidence with the son's memorable victory over the Philistine armies. It has been shown, that Saul, when privately anointed, was 31 years old, and that the Metropolitan despoils him of the sovereignty, after a short reign of two years. According to him the war, in which Jonathan gathered so many laurels, began in the third of Saul's reign, and 34th of his life, when a choice young man, and a goodly. In the very commencement of hostilities Jonathan's feats in generalship exceeded his years and experience. So incredible are

* Short Chronicle, page 21.

the achievements ascribed to his valour, while a stripling, that every probable reason induces the necessity of referring the date of that war to a more protracted period of his life, and of his father's reign.

THIS expedient is necessary to prevent the discord of history with the course of nature. For, if Saul were made king of Israel, according to the doctrine of the Annals, in the year before Christ 1095, and this war with the Philistines broke out 1093, (the 33d of his age),—if likewise Jonathan smote a garrison of the Philistines in Geba *, his age could not exceed 14 years :—the natural inference is, that the date of the war must be deferred to a more advanced stage of the son's life.

AGAIN, if this war began eight years before the birth of David, and lasted to the 20th of his age, when Samuel denounced the removal of the kingdom from Saul's family, that long season of oppression and servitude was coincident with all the other wars in that reign :—the war with Moab, Ammon, Edom, Zobah †. The recovery of the kingdom is a pure fiction of the Annalist. For the sacred historian dates Saul's reign from the time he was privately anointed at Rama, and mentions this war with the Philistines as subsequent to those already specified, but prior to that with Amalek. By every criterion of time it was a war of one single campaign, begun and ended in the year before the vulgar Christian era 1069, or A. M. 2939, when Jonathan's age might be 30, as in the 63d page of this ANALYSIS.

* 1 Sam. xiii. 3. † 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

THE illustrious Author of the *Short Chronicle*, finding the Primate's *Arrangements*, for this Period, involved in artificial perplexity, had recourse to a bold, but inadequate conjecture, which brings into coincidence the accession of the father, and the military achievements of the son.

IT is inadequate; because Saul was invested with royalty in the 31st of his age. It has above been shewn that Jonathan is always put first in the register of his brothers, a not unlikely token of primogeniture;—that Ishbosheth, or Eshbaal*, the youngest of four, succeeded his father on the throne of the ten tribes, at the age of 40†; and was consequently born in the first of that reign. Besides Ahinoam, Saul is said to have had no other wife or concubine. She, therefore, was most probably the mother of his four sons. Suppose them born, each after an interval of 18 months, Jonathan was but six years old at the time of his father's accession; and no more than 15, if born in the 16th of his father's life; the earliest age of procreation recorded in the Bible. But the age even of 15, though it were certain that he was so old in the first of that reign, is inadequate to his military skill, experience, courage, and success, exemplified in the sacred history.

ON the whole, Sir Isaac Newton's *Scheme* is encumbered with all the difficulties which perplex the computation in the *Annals*. But, if this Philistine war be brought 28 years lower than the date assigned by

* 2 Sam. ii. 8. and 1 Chron. viii. 33.

† 2 Sam. ii. 10.

Usher;

Usher; and the accession of Saul carried 28 years higher than in the *Short Chronicle*; the sacred history is consistent with itself, with the verity of computation, and with the course of NATURE.

2. *Coexistence of SHISHAC and SESOSTRIS with REHOBAM.*

"IN the year before Christ 974, Sefac spoils the Temple, and invades Syria and Persia, setting up pillars in many places *." "Sesostris in the 5th year of Rehoboam, came out of Egypt with a great army, spoiled the Temple, reduced Judea into servitude, and went on conquering, first eastward toward India, which he invaded, and then westward as far as Thrace †."

HERE again is a train of controvertible postulates. From the testimony of the sacred writers, in two texts ‡, the Greek interpreters call Shilhac, *Soufakim*; and of Josephus §, who gives the name *Soufacos*; certain it is, that he was contemporary with Rehoboam. The dynasties, as constructed by Eusebius and Syncellus, characterize *Souffakeim* as the son of Smendes, or Vennephes, the 66th king numbered by Syncellus; whereas Sethos, Sethosis, Sesostris, or Sefac, is the 55th of Manetho. These notations are at variance with identity.

SIR I. Newton argues, "That Sefac and Sesostris were kings of ALL Egypt, at one and the same time; and that they agree not only in the time, but in their actions and conquests. Where Herodotus describes the expe-

* Short Chronicle, p. 20.

† Chronol. ch. ii. p. 216.

‡ 1 Kings, xiv. 25. and 2 Chron. xii. 9.

§ Ant. viii. 20. 3.

dition of Sesostris, Josephus tells us, that he described the expedition of Sefac, and attributed his actions to Sesostris, erring only in the name of the king. Corruptions of names are frequent in history : Sesostris was otherwise called Sefochris, Sefoofis, Sethofis, Sefonchis *". "Egypt was at first divided into many smaller kingdoms, like other nations, and grew into one monarchy by degrees."

ALL great empires were composed of petty principalities, accumulated by successive conquests ; and, if Egypt were at first under the government of several independent chieftains, with local jurisdiction, it was consolidated into one monarchy long before the days of Rehoboam. In the time of Abraham and Jacob, it was under one sovereign. "When Joseph was set over ALL the land of Egypt, Pharaoh only in THE THRONE was greater than he ; and, when the seven years of dearth began to come, and the dearth was in ALL lands ; in ALL the land of Egypt was bread : and when ALL the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread †." Every circumstance indicates one supreme monarch, and one prime minister, over the WHOLE land. About the time of Moses' birth "arose A NEW KING, who knew not Joseph." His name too was Pharaoh. At the egress, the Pharaoh of those days, with all his host, perished in the Red Sea ‡.

HERODOTUS

* Chronol. ch. i. p. 68.

† Gen. xli. 40—57.

‡ Herodotus makes Pheron the son and successor of Sesostris. Sir I. Newton affirms, that he was the first of the Pharaohs ;

HERODOTUS and D. Siculus, do not mention the father or predecessor of Sesostris. But Josephus, quoting from Manetho, records, that Amenôphis was the father of Sethôsis. Africanus and Eusebius place Amenophis last in the 18th dynasty, and Sethos first in the 19th; Africanus, in his 12th dynasty, inserts Sesostris as the successor of Ammenemis.

SIR J. Marsham, and Sir I. Newton take for granted, that Amenophis, Ammemenes, Ammon, and Memnon, were one and the same person, otherwise called Jupiter; and that Bacchus, Osiris, Sethos, Sethosis, Sesonchosis, Sefac, were but different names for Sesostris. If this be a discovery, it is a fabric built on conjecture, and the conclusion, weak, as the hypothesis is ambiguous.

SESOSTRIS and Sefac, it is said, reigned at the same time over all Egypt. But other chronologers, on grounds equally probable, refer the former to the times of the patriarch Jacob; and a third class represent him to be the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea. These surmises are, perhaps, all alike uncertain. Of Sesostris nothing occurs, but in poetical traditions, or legendary catalogues of kings, without chronological notations. The time of Sefac's existence is determined by infallible authority.

BUT farther; to neither the one nor the other, or to any one Egyptian monarch, so early as the days of Rehoboam, can the achievements, long voyages, and

Pharaohs; that in the reign of Asa he was drowned in the Nile; and that he was afterward deified under the name of Orus.

extensive

extensive conquests, enumerated by Sir Isaac Newton, be ascribed. This great author postulates, "That Amon, the father of Sesostris, having, by the assistance of the Edomites, built a fleet on the Red Sea, the son coasted Arabia Felix, sailed beyond the Persian Gulf, and in those countries set up columns, with inscriptions, denoting his conquests. After these things, he invaded and conquered Libya, prepared a fleet on the Mediterranean, penetrated as far as the Ocean, and at the mouth of the Straits set up the famous pillars. At length he came out of Egypt and spoiled the Temple *. The assistance of the Edomites is the baseless fabric of a vision. That people first acquired reputation as navigators in the *Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended.*

THE Egyptians at the time specified, and many ages after, had no skill in maritime affairs. In the infancy of arts, expeditions over a wide trackless sea, for traffic or conquest, were impracticable. "That of Sesostris has been considered as the most favourable era in the history of Egypt, for sending a colony into China. But, when examined with the greatest attention, it is nothing more than a sacerdotal fiction, without the smallest particle of reality. Megasthenes, cited by Strabo, was perfectly right in maintaining, that Sesostris had never set foot in India. What must be considered still more extravagant, is the opinion that he constructed a fleet of 600 long vessels, on the Red

* Chron. xi. 214.

Sea. This prodigy is placed at a period, when the ignorance of the Egyptians in navigation was extreme, because their aversion to the sea was invincible. Ship timber besides was so very scarce in Egypt, that a sufficient quantity could with difficulty be found for completing the vessels employed on the Nile, and the different canals. It was, surely, after many unsuccessful attempts, that boats were constructed of baked earth, an invention hitherto never imitated by any nation. The method of burning these vessels, of giving them a certain degree of strength by exactness of proportions, of varnishing and covering them with rushes, is now unknown. When the Ptolomeys endeavoured to establish a trade with India by the Red Sea, the want of wood forced them to use wretched barks, stitched with reeds and papyrus. It appears likewise, that they were always conducted by Greek pilots; for the Egyptians understood nothing of working them*.

ISAIAH, who prophesied two full centuries after Rehoboam, thus describes the state of navigation in Egypt, while he denounces execrations on the Ethiopians; "Wo to the land, shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters†." Too bold, in a serious history of arts and wars, is the paradox of powerful fleets, conveyed from the Nile to the Eastern Ocean, in vessels of earth, burnt like

* Paw's *Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese*, vol. i. p. 28.

† Isa. xviii. 1.

bricks in a kiln, and covered with bulrushes for wings or sails. Now if the Egyptians in Rehoboam's time were so very inexpert in naval architecture and the art of steering, much less will it appear credible that Sesostris constructed a fleet of 600 long vessels in an age so remote, as the Exodus.

IT remains to be noted, that the authority of Herodotus and Josephus, alleged by Sir I. Newton for the identity of Sesostris and Shishac, is, as deficient and foreign to the purpose, inconclusive. Josephus relates almost in the words of the sacred records the transactions ascribed to Shishac * ; without the least mention of Sesostris ; and adds, " That Herodotus of Halicarnassus describes the same expedition, with the sole mistake of that king's name, who, without a battle, reduced Syria of Palestine, and made the men prisoners of war." The only passage in Herodotus, to which Josephus could possibly refer, seems to be Book II, or Euterpe, Chap. CI—CX. where the story of Sesostris is related ; but the name of Shishac, or Sefac, does not once occur. Neither is it there affirmed that Sesostris reduced Syria of Palestine. The author indeed acknowledges that he had seen some monuments of conquests, gained by Sesostris, in that country. But this intelligence seems to merit no more credit than what is in the same passage asserted, that the Phenicians and Syrians of Palestine borrowed the custom of circumcision from Egypt.

* See Jos. Ant. viii. 10. 3. and 1 Kings, xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. 19.

3. *Co-existence of Sesostris and Danaus.*

BEFORE Christ 964 Danaus, with his daughters, fleeing from his brother Egyptus, i. e. from Sefac, comes into Greece *. The return of the one brother is assigned as the reason of the other's flight. "On the return of Sesostris into Egypt, his brother Danaus not only attempted his life, but also commanded his daughters, who were 50 in number, and had married the sons of Sesostris, to slay their husbands; and then fled with his daughters from Egypt, in a long ship of 50 oars. This flight was in the 14th year of Rehoboam. Danaus came first to Lindus in Rhodes, and there built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva. Thence he sailed to Argos, where he arrived in the 15th or 16th of Rehoboam †." Here the postulate is assumed — that Sesostris was the brother of Danaus. Manetho, and he alone ‡, affirms, that Danaus and Egyptus were brothers. Perizonius assigns a very satisfactory reason for the improbability of this notion, as incompatible with genealogy, chronology, and history §. But were this hypothesis admitted, the identity of Sesostris, Egyptus, and Sefac, is still doubtful. Except Sir J. Marsham, and Sir I. Newton, none of all the chronologers brings

* Short Chron. p. 22.

† Chron. c. xi. 136.

‡ Others, besides Manetho, report the same thing; but on his sole authority has the co-existence of these persons, with the relation of brotherhood, obtained credit. If the fact were either uncertain or false, the frequent repetition of it by subsequent writers, could not give it confirmation.

§ Egypt. Orig. c. xvi. p. 334.

any of the three into co-existence with Solomon and Rehoboam. Josephus testifies, that the Israelites left Egypt 393 years before the arrival of Danaus at Argos*. This date may be inaccurate. But it is much less exceptionable than Sir I. Newton's hypothesis. Danaus had 50 daughters, all married before his flight from Egypt, 136 years prior to the 15th of Rehoboam. He could not therefore be the brother of Sefac in the Sacred History and Josephus, or of Sesostris in Herodotus.

WHETHER the dynasties be reckoned co-existent or successive, whether computation proceed in the retrograde or progressive series, by lunar, solar, or federal years, certainty is unattainable from the want of fixed periods, and regulating measures, applicable to collateral history, in the ages prior to Rehoboam and Shishac. Of many kings the names, with the length of their reigns, are unknown; and wide is the difference of opinions, in what order the links of the chain ought to be disposed. In short, to adjust history, by such registers, is a task scarcely more practicable than the decyphering of the hieroglyphics:

Who strives to fix them, by some certain rule,
May, by right rule and reason, play the fool. HOR.

3. *Co-existence of Zerubabel and Jeshua, with Ezra and Nehemiah.*

“THE history of the Jews set down in the Books of EZRA and NEHEMIAH, having suffered by time, wants

* Apion, i. 16.

some illustration. I shall therefore, state their history under Zerubabel, in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hyftafpis."

"It is contained partly in the first three chapters of the Book of Ezra, and the first five verses of the fourth:—and partly in the Book of NEHEMIAH, from the 5th verse of the viith chapter, to the 9th verse of the xiiith: for Nehemiah copied all this out of the Chronicles of the Jews, written before his days; as may appear by reading the place, and considering that the Priests and Levites, who sealed the covenant, on the 24th of the viith month, Neh. x. were the very same with those who returned from the captivity, in the first year of Cyrus, Neh. xii.; and that all those who returned did seal it. This will be perceived by comparison of the names," &c. *

It is admitted, that the contents of Ezra's Book, from the beginning of the 1st to the end of the viith chapter relate wholly to the History of the Jews, under Zerubabel, in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hyftafpis: a few notations only excepted, which Sir Isaac refers, with exquisite discrimination, to subsequent reigns †.

* Chron. ch. vi. p. 358.

† For instance, the Ahasuerus, ch. iv. 6. was no other than Xerxes, the son and successor of Dar. Hyftafpis; and the Artaxerxes mentioned ch. iv. 7. 11. 23. and ch. vi. 14. was no other than Artaxerxes Longimanus, the son and successor of the same Xerxes; whose names are inserted in the history by anticipation.

BUT

BUT it must not be dissimbled, that the transactions recorded between verse 5th, Neh. viith, and verse 9th, ch. xiith of the same Book, are all subsequent to the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hystaspis. With all proper deference to the memory, and literary merit, of Sir I. Newton, be it affirmed, that, except two genealogical registers, professedly inserted as originals, or rather as actual extracts, no one incident, in the Book of Nehemiah, is prior in date to the 20th of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Nehemiah copied nothing from the Jewish Chronicles, written before his time, besides the two family registers, framed in the first of Cyrus, and again produced as vouchers in the 21st of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the son of Xerxes.

IN the remainder of the vith chapter, which treats of the Persian Empire, this great man confounds, in promiscuous disorder, the transactions in the reigns of Xerxes, and of Artaxerxes Longimanus, with those of their three predecessors, Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Dar. Hystaspis *.

THESE transactions, disposed in parallel columns, according to their several dates, will be sufficient to evince, that the persons who sealed the Covenant, Neh. xii. were quite different from those, who returned in the first of Cyrus.

ZERUBABEL and Jeshua NEHEMIAH came to
came to Jerusalem in the Jerusalem in the 20th of
1st of Cyrus, A. M. 3473. Art. Long. A. M. 3564.

* See p. 359—361.

In the 7th month of that year, the altar built, the feast of tabernacles kept, materials and artificers provided for the second Temple.

IN the second of Cyrus the Temple founded: the work obstructed during that and the subsequent reign; finished in the 6th, and dedicated in the 7th, Dar. Hyft. A. M. 3494*.

THE building of the city opposed in the 1st of Xerxes A. M. 3584†. Prohibited by a decree of Art. Long. A. M. 3545‡: that decree reversed by the commission granted to Ezra, in 3551§. Ezra makes an end of dissolving irregular marriages 3552||.

THE history continued in the Book of Esther, to the 13th of Art. Long. 3557.

In the 21st of Art. on the 6th month, the wall finished; and in the 7th m. the Law read, the feast of tabernacles kept, with great solemnity: on the 24th a Fast; a covenant of reformation ratified; Neh. x. throughout, A. M. 3565.

THENCEFORWARD the rulers dwell at Jerusalem, the people cast lots to dwell, one in ten, in the holy city, and nine parts to dwell in the other cities of Judah, Neh. xi. 1, 2. Then follow the names of those who came from Babylon with Nehemiah in the 20th of Artaxerxes, which are quite different from those who accompanied Ezra, in the 7th of the same reign; as also from the retinue of Zerubabel in the first of Cyrus.

* Ezr. ch. i. to vi. 22.

† Ezr. iv. 6.

‡ Ezr. iv. 7.

§ Ezr. vii. 9.

|| Ezr. x. 17.

PRIDEAUX fitly observes, that the Nehemiah and Mordecai, in Ezra, ii. 2. were not the Nehemiah and Mordecai of whom so much is said in the Books of NEHEMIAH and ESTHER, but quite different persons of the same name *. Sir I. Newton, unhappily receding from that cautious and amiable diffidence, which, in ambiguous cases, distinguished him from the petulance of dogmatists, affirms in terms by far too peremptory, “Yea Nehemiah, the same Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, who was the Tirshatha, subscribed the covenant in the reign of Cyrus†.” It is carefully to be noted;—that the Nehemiah, who accompanied Zerubabel, is not distinguished, in the Book of Ezra, by his family or office; for the Tirshatha, in ch. ii. 63, could be no other than Zerubabel himself; and the Tirshatha, Neh. viii. 9. mentioned together with Ezra, the Priest and Scribe, could be no other than that Nehemiah who came from Shushan to Jerusalem in the 20th of Artaxerxes I. The Law was not read, no occasional Fast was kept, no covenant of reformation was subscribed in the first of Cyrus. The interval hence to the 20th of Artaxerxes is 91 years; a circumstance extremely unfavourable to the supposition of one and the same Nehemiah.

OUR illustrious author seems to have been misled by a variation in orthography or dialect, when he supposed, that Ezra the Priest and Scribe, who read the law, Neh. viii. accompanied Zerubabel and Jeshua

* Connex. P. i. p. 106. † Chron. vi. 368.

from Babylon, in the first of Cyrus. Of an Ezra, invested with the designations of Priest and Scribe, no mention occurs in the Book, inscribed with that name, before ch. vii. 1. where he is characterized as a son of Seraiah, the 14th in descent from Aaron. He certainly was the predecessor and colleague of Nehemiah, in Judea, during the reign of the first Artaxerxes. But whence did Sir I. Newton surmise, that this Ezra returned in the first of Cyrus, contrary to his own testimony; which fixes his removal from Babylon to the first day of the first-month, in the 7th year of Artaxerxes, and his arrival at Jerusalem, in the 5th month of the same year *? His sole authority seems to be Neh. xii. 1. where we read, "Now these are the priests and levites who went up with Zerubabel, and Jeshua, Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra." But in the original register, Ezra, ii. 1. &c. Ezra is not expressed in any of the classes. In Neh. x. 2. Seraiah, Azariah, (probably Ezra, the priest and scribe), with Jeremiah, are said to have sealed the covenant, as priests; but it is not affirmed, that they returned in the first of Cyrus. The Ezra, Neh. xii. 1. 13. might have arrived with Jeshua, the chief of the sacerdotal order; but it does not appear that these were the very same persons who ratified the covenant in the 21st of Artaxerxes. If Ezra were an officiating priest at the end of the captivity, his age *then* was at least 31, full 92 years before he read the law eight days in continuous

* Ezr. vii. 8, 9.

order from morning to mid-day, in the ears of ALL the PEOPLE. Such exertion was scarcely credible at the age of 123.

As distinct persons, so different dates, are taken for the same;—the 7th month in the pontificate of Joia-kim, A. M. 3565, being confounded with the 7th month in the pontificate of his father Jeshua, 3473;—the feast of tabernacles in the first of Cyrus, with the same festival, kept with more solemnity in the 218 of Artaxerxes. These are but a specimen.

IT cannot be admitted, that Nehemiah copied from Jewish Chronicles, written before his time, the things related in his Book from the 5th verse of the viith chapter, to the 9th of the xiith; much less, that the same things were all of a date prior to the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus, as is affirmed*.

THE Historian acknowledges the authority of no record written before the time of Artaxerxes, except a genealogical register of them who had come up at the first. This register he found either among the deeds preserved in the collection of national archives, since the days of Jeshua, or its extract in the second chapter of Ezra's History, if then published. Its title is, "Now these are the children of the province, who went up out of the captivity, whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away unto Babylon, and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every man unto his city, with Zerubabel." In both its copies † the general

* Chron. ch. vi. p. 363.

† Ezra, ii. and Neh. vii.

number is, 42,360, but the partial sums, as reckoned up by their families in Ezra, amount only to 29,818; and in Nehemiah, to 31,031. The meaning of which is, as Dr. Prideaux observes, they are only the tribes of Judah Benjamin, and Levi, who are reckoned by their families, in both these places, the rest, being of the other tribes of Israel, are numbered only in the gross sum, and this in both computations makes the gross sum so much exceed the partial sums*.

It must be allowed that the numbers and names of those priests and levites, Nehemiah, xii. 1—9. who went with Zerubabel, agree nearly with the princes, priests, and levites, chapter x. 1—13. who sealed the covenant. But this general agreement does not evince an identity of the persons. Dr. Wall properly considers the names in the last mentioned catalogue as the families, or descendants, of those who accompanied Zerubabel and Jeshua, almost a century before. To explode the incoherent hypothesis of Sir I. Newton, sufficient it is to recollect that Ezra first arrived at Jerusalem in the 7th of Artaxerxes, with about 1500 attendants, distinct and separate from the colony in the first of Cyrus;—and that Nehemiah set about the reparation of the city-wall, in the pontificate of Eliashib, the grandson of Jeshua, no less than 110 years from the foundation of the second temple.

FOR the imperfections found in the chronology of the Persian Empire the Editor offers the following

* See Prid. Connex. Part i. p. 107.

apology. "The sixth chapter was not copied out with the other five, which makes it doubtful, whether the author intended to print it. But being found among his papers, and evidently appearing to be a continuation of the same work, and, (as such abridged in the Short Chronicle), it was thought proper to be added. Had the great author himself lived to publish this work, there would have been no occasion for this advertisement. But, as it is, the reader is desired to allow for such imperfections, as are inseparable from posthumous pieces." This chapter, with all its deficiencies and mistakes, exhibits striking signatures of judicious discrimination. The author's oversights were those of a masterly genius. Even this least elaborate section of the Ancient Chronology is, in several respects, a valuable acquisition; especially, as it shews the fallacy of confounding Cambyzes and Smerdis with Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, in Ezra, iv. 6, 7; for thus are rectified the preposterous and fanciful arrangements of Usher, Prideaux, Bedford, &c. This equitable concession, however, does not vindicate conclusions, incompatible with chronology, history, and the circumscribed period of natural life.

4. *The dates assigned for several arts and usages, coeval with social life, are improbable: for instance,*

Agriculture. "Ceres, a woman of Sicily, comes into Attica, and teaches the Greeks to sow corn; for which benefaction she was deified. She first taught the art to Triptolemus, the young son of Celeus; king of Eleusis:

Eleusis : before Christ 1030. Arcas, the son of Calisto, and grandson of Lycaon, and Eumelus the first king of Achaia, receive bread-corn from Triptolemus : B. C. 1020 *."

THE cultivation of the ground was introduced in the first age, transmitted to the last generation of the old world, and revived by Noah, after the Flood †. An art so indispensably necessary to the comfortable subsistence of the human kind, in the progressive stages of population, could in no subsequent period be lost. Much more probable is the position, that its advances to perfection kept pace with the continual improvements in all the subsidiary arts. At the time of the dispersion, the several colonies carried to their new settlements all the skill and experience of past ages, and, among the rest of the useful arts, AGRICULTURE.

To the sons of Japhet immediately after the separation from Babel, were the isles of the Gentiles, comprehending Greece, assigned. Extremely absurd is the notion, that they could increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, without subduing the soil, by the various arts of making it fruitful. The old fabulous chronology brings the different migrations from Egypt into Greece many ages lower than the days of Japhet. Sir John Marsham connects the arrival of Ceres in Greece with the time of Joshua's death, 13 generations after the dispersion in the days of Peleg. It is not

* Short Chronicle, p. 15.

† Gen. ix. 1. and ch. ix. 20.

credible that the use of corn was unknown in Greece, from its first plantation, by the sons of Japhet, to the days of Joshua ; much less, that agriculture, one of the primeval arts, was first introduced into that country, in the reign of David.

Early use of animal food in Egypt.

“ THE Egyptians lived only on the fruits of the earth and abominated flesh eaters *. They originally fared hardly and abstained from animals. Menes taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture, and brought in among them a sumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life †.” This Menes is, by a fatality of computation, put the third in succession after the supposed Sefac or Sesostris of Sir I. Newton ; and, in connexion with so very recent a criterion of time, the term *originally* is most unhappily combined. Abstinence from animal food was the natural consequence of brute worship. Every circumstance recorded of the Egyptians, in the days of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, induces the full conviction, that Monotheism, the religion of the Hebrew Patriarchs, was likewise the national religion of that country. Till divine honours were paid to certain species of animals, their flesh was no less commonly used for food than the fruits of the earth : and that such honours were not paid to them in the life-time of Joseph may fairly be presumed from the history of that time. The chief baker’s dream

* Short Chron. p. 9.

† Chron. p. 241.

of white baskets, containing all manner of baked meats for Pharaoh, implies the use of animal food. Joseph ordered the chief ruler of his house to *SLAY* and make ready, for the entertainment of his brethren, who were to dine with him at noon. This sort of idolatry and abstinence was the invention of a subsequent age. For the Israelites in the wilderness recollected with discontent and impatience the time when they sat by the flesh pots of Egypt, and did eat bread to the full. They remembered too the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic. Hence it is evident, that the pot-herbs of Egypt were not then consecrated. Corruptions of this kind were most probably introduced, first of all, in the space between the death of Joseph and the egress *.

“ THE lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was scarce inhabited before the invention of corn, which made it useful: and the king, who by this invention, first peopled it, and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Mefir, where Memphis was afterward built, seems to have been worshipped by his subjects, after death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction†.” It has been shewn, that the deification and consequent worship of animals can be traced no farther back than to the short interval from Joseph to the Exodus. At this latter term, and no sooner, Pharaoh permitted the Israelites to perform sacrifices

* For the origin of Brute and Image Worship, See Winder's History of Knowl. vol. i. ch. xiv.

† Chron. p. 197.

in his land ; but Moses remonstrated, that the slaughter of the sacred animals, in his dominions, would exasperate the inhabitants. Here is direct evidence for the existence of brute worship, and consequently of abstinence from animal food, in the time of that very generation, which recollected the flesh pots of Egypt. From the Exodus to the reign of Menes, who it is said succeeded Orus, the son of Sesostris, in the 16th of Asa, king of Judah, and first introduced into Egypt the sumptuous mode of living on animal food, the interval is 542 years. Sir Isaac Newton conjectures, that animal food was first permitted in Egypt, more than five centuries after it had been prohibited, as a sacrilegious profanation. That the lower part of that country, enriched by the yearly overflow of the Nile, was fully inhabited, long before it was conquered, by the Phenician shepherds, who fled from Joshua, is evident from this circumstance, that so early as the days of Joseph, the land of Egypt had become the granary of the world, and supplied all the contiguous nations with bread, during a grievous famine of seven years. In the passage, above quoted, this very eminent writer discovers a commendable degree of caution, in leaving undetermined the time and name of the king, who invented the art of raising corn, and fertilised the soil by means of the Nile. But if a date, posterior to the Exodus, be assigned for these improvements, it will be difficult to account for the power of the Egyptian empire, and the no less sudden than prodigious multiplication of the Israelites, at a period when, it is affirmed, that the country

country was scarce inhabited. The Aborigines, doubtless, brought into their new settlement all the arts of the old, and of the restored world. Absurd is the supposition, that tillage once introduced could anywhere fall into disuse.

The rise of arts, and the foundation of cities in Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya, SIR I. NEWTON refers to the age of Cadmus, in the reign of David, an era too recent for credibility.

IN our language, as in every other, the sense of no word is, perhaps, more equivocal than CITY. Its most general meaning implies an assemblage of buildings occupied by a community of inhabitants. "Rome, properly speaking, was at first but a sorry village, whereof even the principal inhabitants followed their own ploughs*." Presumable it is, that many of the most ancient cities, did, in the structure, size, and number, of buildings, resemble some of our British hamlets. As the inhabitants multiplied they were enlarged. As the seats of empire, arts, or commerce, they rose gradually in importance.

"CAIN, who built the first city, called it after the name of his son, Enoch. The beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, now Bagdat, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Ashur the son of Shem, and built Nineveh, the CITY of Rehoboth, and Calah." The

* Hooke's Rom. Hist. vol. i. ch. 2.

first and last are called GREAT cities. Sidon, Gerar, Gaza, Sodom, and four other cities in Palestine, if not likewise Jerusalem, the metropolis of the ancient Jebusites, had become, some of them at least, very populous, not to speak of less honourable distinctions, prior to the arrival of Abram *. According to that one true hypothesis, which rests on the firm basis of historical evidence, Abram was certainly born in the 130th, not the 70th of his father's life. Hence Sir W. Raleigh deduces a very reasonable inference : " In this patriarch's time, all the then parts of the world were peopled ; all regions and countries had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent cities, and so had Palestine, and all the bordering countries ; yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as India : and those not built with sticks but of hewn stones and ramparts ; which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity than those other men have supposed. Therefore, where the scriptures are plainest, and agree best with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels ? giving also strength to common cavillers, and to those men's apish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities and monsters in the story of the world and of mankind †."

It cannot be denied, that some of Sir I. Newton's arrangements incur this censure. For instance—" In

* See Gen. iv. 17. and ch. x. 10—19.

† History, p. 228.

the year before Christ 1080, Lycaon the son of Pelasgus builds Lycosura; Phoroneus the son of Inachus, Phoronium, afterwards called Argus; Ægialeus the brother of Phoroneus and son of Inachus, Ægialeum, afterwards called Sicyon: and these were the oldest towns in Peloponnesus. Till then they built only single houses, scattered up and down in the fields. About the same time Cecrops built Cecropia in Attica, afterwards called Athens; and Eleusine, the son of Ogyges, built Eleusis. These towns gave a beginning to the kingdoms of the Arcadians, Argives, Sicyons, Athenians, Eleusinians, &c. *"

THOSE who give credit to the fabulous antiquities of Egypt, mention three colonies, thence transplanted into Greece. Sir J. Marsham connects the first expedition under Phoroneus with the birth of Isaac; the next under Cecrops with that of Aaron; and the third under Danaus with the time of the Exodus. The intermediate space is four centuries. On Sir I. Newton's computation it is remarked, 1. That the foundation of those cities, and the rise of these kingdoms, are mentioned as events of the same date, { "*much about the same time.*" 2. That the time assigned for such buildings is prior to the introduction of the arts, letters, music, metals, and their fabrication, from Phenicia under Cadmus. Perfection in architecture is not conceivable without the previous skill of separating metals from their dross, and of shaping them into various uten-

* Chron. p. 10.

file by the mould or the hammer. These arts were certainly much more ancient in the Lesser Asia, than the reign of David *. 3. Sir Isaac Newton seems to assume the postulate, that the Egyptians, who conducted successive colonies into Asia the Less, Crete, Greece, and Libya, found these countries either desolate, or in a state of barbarism. But it has been shewn, that the sons of Japhet were the first planters in a much more remote age. 4. Cadmus, it is affirmed, brought Letters, with other arts, sciences, and customs, of the Phenecians, into Bœotia, about 35 years after Lycaon built Lycosura †; that is, about the 12th year of David's reign. The date of this useful improvement is not now the subject of disquisition; for whether it be placed higher or lower, certain it is, that alphabetical composition was not applied to the history of the Greek colonies before the order, dates, and all the circumstances of the several migrations from other countries had entirely

* Cain the eldest son of Adam built a city, and Tubal Cain, one of his descendants, was an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron. This implies that the fabrication of metals was previously known. So large a vessel as the ark could not be constructed, without nails, bars, and plates, and so huge a pile, as the tower of Babel, required no mean degree of skill in mechanism. At the dispersion nations were first formed, and so numerous was each colony, that the collective body in every distinct country possessed all the knowledge of the primitive world, with the ever accumulating improvements of the new. Thus must the knowledge of the most useful arts have been coeval with the dispersion.

† Chron. p. 14.

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escaped

escaped the memory of the inhabitants. Thus if the Argive era were near three centuries prior in time to the Attic, as Sir John Marsham has fixed the origin of both, the transactions of those intermediate centuries could not be preserved to the time of Cadmus *. For Sir I. Newton lays down this fundamental principle, "Before the use of letters, the names and actions of men, could scarce be remembered above 80 or 100 years after their deaths †." By the same rule are the actions of Cadmus himself unsupported by historical evidence. According to Josephus, the Greeks themselves admitted, that the laws of Draco concerning murders, were the most ancient of their public records; and Draco, he says, lived but a short time before the tyrant Pisistratus ‡. From Cadmus to Pisistratus is a period of almost five centuries beyond the era of authentic history.

THAT article of the Short Chronicle, (B. Chr. 1080.) which makes the two brothers Ægialeus and Phoroneus,

* The illustrious author foresaw this objection, and had the precaution to ward off its force by introducing Lycaon, Phoroneus, Cecrops, and Cadmus, *about the same time*. This artifice perplexes his reckoning by generations: Agenor, an exile from Egypt, became king of Phœnicia; whence he imposed the name Phœnix on his eldest son. His brother Cadmus, emigrated thence into Greece, where he built a city, and founded Thebes, the capital of Bœotia. This expedition is with the greatest probability connected with the time of Samuel the prophet, 50 years earlier than the date assigned in *The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended*.

† Chron. Introd. p. 7.

‡ Apion, i. 4.

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the founders of Sicyon and Argus, in the same year rectifies that mistake, in the Old Chronology, which inserts 11 or 12 nominal kings of Sicyon between the two sons of Inachus, now mentioned; and the years, assigned to these feigned kings, abridge the computation by three centuries *.

THIS discovery is important. But the age of Inachus, the father of Ægialeus and Phoroneus, still remains undefined. Sir J. Marsham affirms that Inachus was a river, not a man †. Syncellus says, that Inachus and his son Phoroneus, were the most ancient kings in Greece; and it is well known, that the poets usually derived those kings, of whose ancestors tradition had not preserved the names, from a river, or a god. In the Short Chronicle Cadmus is said to have brought a Phœnician colony into Greece 120 years before the voyage of Danaus with his 50 daughters from Egypt. This last date, by the same chronicle, is 964 before our era, or 529 subsequent to the Exodus. This computation brings that expedition too low. Josephus, in a passage already quoted, with much more probability affirms, that the Israelites left Egypt 393 years before the reign of Danaus in Argus. But this is not the sole objection to the poetical, or rather fictitious, plantations of Egyptian colonies in Greece. Dr. Musgrave, comparing minutely the usages civil, domestic, and religious, of the two countries, pronounces them totally dissimilar; and hence he concludes

* Introduction, p. 7.

† Chron. Canon, p. 15.

that the Greeks were, in general, natives of their own soil ; that their religion and mythology were radically, if not entirely their own ; that they resented as an indignity the report that Cecrops was a foreigner ;— and also affirmed that Cadmus, Danaus, and Pelops, were the first strangers who had settled among them*.

THIS censure detracts from the credit of Strabo, D. Siculus, and others, on whose authority Marsham contends, that Greece was peopled by colonies from Egypt under Phoroneus and Cecrops ; but does not affect the scheme of Sir I. Newton, who uniformly represents the ancestors of such leaders, as strangers and intruders, in that country ; and themselves as fugitives, expelled by force. Exceptionable indeed is his notion, that Danaus was the brother of Sefac, and Sefac the same with Sesostris, as is already shewn. For if Sesostris returned into Egypt, in the 14th of Rehoboam ; and Danaus set out on his voyage to Argos, as Josephus testifies, 393 years after the Exodus, the interval is 260 years, a period incompatible with the doctrine of Sir I. Newton.

SUCH are the imperfections in the plan and execution of this great man's chronology. A specimen only has, for the sake of brevity, been selected. Candor and equity demand a concise view of the improvements peculiar to this his last bequest, which, with all its defects, would alone have been sufficient to consecrate his memory.

• *Dissert. on Gr. Mythology.*

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

FIXED PERIODS ascertained by SIR I. NEWTON.

BY the light of philosophy have spots been discovered on the sun's disc. But these impair not the manifold beneficial uses of that glorious luminary. Sir Isaac Newton was born, in an enlightened age, for the advancement of science, and his comprehensive mind either adorned or exhausted every subject of investigation. It is not surprising, that the same masterly genius, which gave the stamp and seal of certainty to many abstruse problems, susceptible of demonstration, or experiment, should deduce unsatisfactory conclusions, either from uncertain principles, or from modes of proof, which result in degrees of probability inferior to infallible evidence.

If this wonderful proficient in scientific skill, did not untwist all the perplexities, in the art of computing times, it cannot be denied, that he improved and adorned the subject by conjecturing shrewdly concerning the true date of several important events, which lay far beyond the line of historical time, and by combining a train of proofs, sufficient to induce the conviction, that his conjectures were JUST ; e. g.

B b 3

1. WHQ,

I. WHO, WHEN, and WHENCE, the PASTOR-
KINGS in EGYPT?

THE solution of these queries has long been an engine of torture, to the most profound adepts in the mysteries of computation, and the subject is still under an arrest of judgment. Of these ambiguous personages the earliest account is a fragment of Manetho, preserved by Josephus, in the 14th section of his first book against Apion. It is in substance as follows.

“ Under an Egyptian king, Timaus, a multitude from the East invaded the country, slew some of the inhabitants, enslaved others, burnt the cities, demolished the temples, and committed all manner of hostilities. At length they made Salatis, one of their number, king, who reigned at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions tributary. He had five successors, whose reigns amounted to about 254 years. After them succeeded another dynasty, who kept possession of Egypt 511 years,” in which sum the former number is probably included. It is added, “ That the kings of Thebais, and of the other sovereignties, raised a war against the shepherds, who were subdued, and shut up in a place called Abaris, where they fortified themselves, in the reign of Alisphragmosis; under whose son, Thummosis, they agreed to evacuate the country. They passed from Egypt through Syria, and built Jerusalem in Judea.”

THESE invaders might have come from the East, but every feature in the picture disproves the wild supposition

tion of Josephus, that they were none others than the Fathers of the XII. Tribes. Than the specified characters of time, nothing can be more vague. In that strange, inexplicable record, The Dynasties, Timaus is the name of no one sovereign; and the same may be said of Alisphragmosis and Thummosis. By no certain test can the interval be defined.

USHER brings these usurpers from Arabia, Bedford from Canaan, and both agree in fixing the time of the invasion to A. M. 1920, or about 90 years before Abraham. This term encroaches on the time of the general dispersion, prior to which no kingdoms were erected, and consequently no revolutions possible. Allow 500 years for the two dynasties, the time of the lasting war raised against them by all the confederated kings in Egypt was about 95 years before the Exodus. But every memorial from the birth of Abraham to the end of the 430 years sojourning, represents Egypt as one monarchy. The Israelites, and the Pastor-kings, both possessed the Lower Egypt, but not at the same time. If the Pastor-kings were expelled before the Israelites arrived, the former must have seized the country before the separation from Babel. Thus temples are said to have been demolished before they were built, and empires overturned before their existence.

CUMBERLAND, after a very tedious disquisition, maintains, that these shepherds were Phenicians, descendants from Canaan, the first planter of Palestine, connects their expulsion with the Argive era, about the

56th year of Isaac's life; that is, 508 years after the flood. By this reckoning, they invaded Egypt about the time of Arphaxad's birth or infancy! What a palpable absurdity?

SHUCKFORD conjectures, that these shepherds were the inhabitants about Mount Hor, whom the grandchildren of Esau expelled their country, in the time of Jacob's grandchildren. This author places the usurpation of Salatis somewhere between the death of Joseph, and the birth of Moses, and affirms, that the cruelties said to have been done by this tyrant, against the kings and native subjects of Egypt, were inflicted on the Israelites. He is the new king, who knew not Joseph. But it is not recorded, that Esau, or his descendants, conquered, much less expelled the Horites; and least of all, that the refugees made an inroad into Egypt, and subdued the country. This is fiction not history.

OF all the conjectures on this intricate subject, that of Sir I. Newton alone derives confirmation from history. "The Canaanites who fled from Joshua, retired in great numbers into Egypt, conquered the lower country, and reigned under their kings, Salatis, &c. until the days of Eli and Samuel *." The proofs, with their authorities, are set forth in the larger work, p. 198—202.

SEVERAL infallible characters of time restrict the conquest of Canaan to the 45th year from the release

* Short Chron. page 9.

out of Egypt ; and though considerable numbers might have taken refuge in that country, during the four past years, this may be considered as the last date of the migration. Eli's magistracy began in the year from the egress 319. From the greater number take the less, the surplus 274, denotes the interval. Manetho and Syncellus, agreeing nearly with Josephus, as his numbers are now expressed, assign 260 years to the first dynasty of the Pastor-kings from Salatis to Affis ; and this sum deducted from 274, leaves 14 years for the return of the first refugees into Canaan. This remainder indicates the 14th prior to Eli's administration, coincident with the 9th of Tolah.

ALL the other schemes of adjusting this fragment of the Egyptian Chronology to the Sacred History, are awkward, fortuitous, inefficent ; exemplifying licentiousness of conjecture, incompatible with physical probability, and repugnant to the state of the world. Sir I. Newton's hypothesis rests on the report of authentic history, and discovers a felicity of genius in ascertaining both the origin and period of this otherwise equivocal dynasty.

2. *The rise of the ASSYRIAN EMPIRE is placed too high by all the ancient, and the greater part of the modern writers.*

“ As the deified kings or princes of Greece, Egypt, and Syria of Damascus, have been made much antienter than the truth, so have those of Chaldea and Assyria: for Diodorus tells us, that, when Alexander the

the Great was in Asia, the Chaldeans reckoned 473,000 years since they first began to observe the stars; and Ctesias, with the other Greek and Latin authors, who copy from him, have made the Assyrian Empire as old as Noah's Flood within 60 or 70 years, and tell us the names of all the kings in Assyria from Belus to Sardanapalus. But the names of his kings have no affinity, (except two or three), with the names of the Assyrians mentioned in scripture.—Ctesias supposes, that the Assyrian Empire was at an end 250 years before it began.”

“HOWEVER, we must allow, that Nimrod founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it into Assyria, but this kingdom was of small extent, if compared with the empires which rose up afterwards; being only confined within the fertile plains of Chaldea, Chalonitis, and Assyria, watered by the Tigris and Euphrates: and, if it had been greater, it could not have continued long, it being the custom, in those early ages, for every father to divide his territories among his sons*.”

SIR Isaac having taken notice, p. 269, that no more is heard of an Assyrian Empire, from the days of Nimrod to those of Pul, proceeds to shew, in a multitude of instances, from the Sacred History, that various provinces of this large sovereignty, were, during that protracted interval, under the dominion of sundry independent kings: and his conclusion is, “In the reign

* Chron. ch. iii. p. 267.

of Sennacherib and Eſarhaddon, the Aſſyrian Empire ſeems arrived at its greatneſs, being united under one monarch, and containing Aſſyria, Media, Apolloniatis, Suſiana, Chaldea, Meſopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and part of Arabia, and reaching Eaſtward into Elymais, and Parætacene, a province of the Medes : and if Chalach and Chabor, be Colchis and Iberia, as ſome think, we are alſo to add theſe two provinces, with the two Armenias, Pontus, and Cappadocia, as far as to the river Halys : for Herodotus tells us, that the people of Cappadocia, as far as to that river, were called Syrians, by the Greeks, both before and after the days of Cyrus, and that the Aſſyrians were alſo called Syrians by the Greeks *.”

THESE deciſive geographical notations, confirmed by ſo many appoſite and direct teſtimonies from the ſacred Oracles, authenticate this illuſtrious writer's hypotheſis, “ That the Empire of Aſſyria was firſt founded at Nineveh, by Pul, about the year before Chriſt 790, and deſtroyed by Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar in 609, after it had ſtood 180 years.” Were ſingularity of opinion an infallible ſymptom of erroneous judgement, eaſy it were to defend Sir I. Newton from this charge. Not to mention other competent judges, Mr. W. Jameſon, Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the University of Glaſgow, publiſhed, ſo early as 1720, his *SPICILEGIA antiquitatum Ægypti atque ei vicinarum GENTIUM* : in which very exquisite ſpecimen of

* Chron. p. 283.

Oriental learning is suggested, and ably maintained, Sir I. Newton's scheme of the Assyrian monarchy, in its late origin, wide extent, and short duration *.

THE date of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Heraclidæ recovering a settlement in the Peloponnesus, Sir I. Newton has fixed, with great probability, on the unanimous report of traditional history. These events are valuable no otherwise, than by their subservience to determine the following epoch.

3. *The overthrow of TROY seems probably connected with the reign of JEHOSHAPHAT in Judah, and of AHAB in Israel.*

FROM the royal calendar, in Jerusalem and Samaria, certain it is, that these were contemporary princes ;—that Ahab married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, or Itho-baal, king of Zidon ;—and that Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, married Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel. Thus is the genealogy of the Hebrews intermixed with that of the Tyrians.

ETHBAAL was the great-grandfather of Dido, the sister of Pygmalion. “Virgil, and his scholiast Servius, who might have some things from the archives of Tyre and Cyprus, as well as from those of Carthage, relate, that Teucer came from the war of Troy to Cyprus, in the days of Dido, a little before the reign of her brother Pygmalion, and in conjunction with

* This elaborate piece of ancient criticism is now seldom seen. Those to whom it is accessible, may consult chap. iii. and iv.

her father, seized Cyprus, and ejected Cinyras : and the marbles say, that Teucer came to Cyprus seven years after the destruction of Troy, and built Salamis. If, therefore, the Romans, in the days of Augustus, followed not altogether the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, but had these things from the records of Carthage, Cyprus, or Tyre, the arrival of Teucer at Cyprus will be in the reign of the predecessor of Pygmalion, and by consequence, the destruction of Troy about 76 years later than the death of Solomon *."

It is to be noted, that Teucer, the son of Telamon, king of Salamis, an island on the southern coast of Attica, having incurred his father's displeasure, because he had not brought back from Troy his brother Ajax, was refused an asylum in his native soil. But encouraged by an oracle, he pointed his course to Cyprus, where he built the new Salamis, and became a pattern of successful enterprize, too eminent to escape the renown arising from the records of poetical heroism.

———Teucer Salamina patremque
 Cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyæo
 Tempora populeâ fertur vinxisse coronâ
 Sic tristes affectus amicos :
 Quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente
 Ibimus O focii comitesque, &c. HOR. Odes, i. 7.

When Teucer from his fire and country fled,
 With poplar leaves the hero crown'd his head,

* Chron. p. 65.

Reeking

Reeking with wine, and thus his friends address,
 Deep sorrow brooding in each anxious breast;
 Bold let us follow through the foamy tides,
 Where fortune, better than a father, guides.
 Avaunt despair! when Teucer calls to fame,
 The same your Augur, and your guide the same.
 Another Salamis in foreign clime,
 With rival pride shall raise her head sublime,
 So Phoebus nods; ye sons of valour true,
 Full often tried in deeds of deadlier hue,
 To-day with wine drive every care away,
 To-morrow tempt again the boundless sea.

FRANCIS.

VIRGIL much more pertinently specifies the time, and describes contemporary personages. In the sub-joined passage Dido is introduced informing Æneas, that she had seen Teucer on his voyage, cruising along the coast of Sidon.

——— Teucrum memini Sidona venire,
 Finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem
 Auxilio Beli. Genitor tum Belus opimam
 Vastabat Cyprum, et victor ditone tenebat.
 Tempore jam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis
 Trojanæ, nomenque tuum, regesque Pelasgi.

ÆNEID, i. 623.

——— Now I call to mind,
 When Teucer left his native shores behind;
 The banish'd prince to Sidon came, to gain
 Great Belus' aid, to fix him in his reign;

Then the rich Cyprian isle, my warlike fire,
 Subdu'd with hostile sword and vengeful fire.
 From him I learn'd the Grecian kings of fame,
 The fall of Ilion, and your glorious name. PITT.

IN the works of Josephus, and of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, are happily preserved two extracts from the Tyrian Chronicle, of Menander the Ephesian, who compiled with great diligence and no less judgement, an history both of the Greeks and Barbarians, on the authority of genuine records*. A relick of pagan antiquity so curious, authentic, and subservient, to connect the sacred history with that of the gentiles, merits special regard, as affording various articles of important intelligence relative to the fabulous ages, and as being the only fragment now extant of a once large chronicle. It is here exhibited at one view together with the co-existent reigns in Jerusalem and Samaria.

* See Josephus, Apion, i. 18. and Theophil. Apolog. Engl. edit. 1722. p. 288. This fragment, in its two copies, varies occasionally in the orthography of names, and in partial numbers; but both agree in the order of succession, and general sums.

On the authority of the ancient Prolate, 8 years, not 6, as in Josephus, are assigned to the reign of Badozoar, son of Ethbaal. The larger number is here preferred, because every probability brings the conflagration of Troy, and the rise of Salamis, into coincidence with the reign of Pygmalion's father.

Prolate

Years

Years from the Illd of Solomon, and Xlth of Hiram,
both excluded, to the death of Pygmalion.

JUDAH.		SAMARIA.		SIDON.		A. M. 2994.	
Solomon	4	found the Temple	Hiram			12	1
	23					34	23
	30		Belshazzar			7	30
	36		Abdaftart			6	36
Rehoboam	3	Jeroboam I.	3			9	39
	15		15	Anonymus		12	51
	17		17	Aftart		2	53
Abijah	3		20			5	56
Afa	2		22			7	58
	3	Baasha	1			8	59
	7		5			12	63
	16		14	Aferymus		9	72
	17		15	Phcles		1	73
	26		24	Ithobaal		9	82
	27	Omri	1			10	83
	38	Ahab	1	12		21	94
	39		2			22	95
	40		3			23	96
Jehoshaphat	1		4			24	97
	2		5			25	98
	9		12			32	105
	17		20	Badezoar		8	113
Troy overthrown	18		21	Matgenue		1	114
	19		22			2	115
Jehoshaphat	20	Ahaziah	1			3	116
	21		2			4	117
	22	Joram	1			5	118
	23		2			6	119
	24		3			7	120
Jehoram	1	25	4	Teucer builds	New Salamis	8	121
	2		5			9	122
	3		6	Pygmalion		1	123
	4		7			2	124
	5		8			3	125
	6		9			4	126
	7		10			5	127
Ahaziah	8		11			6	128
	1	Dido falls	12	from Tyre		7	129
Athaliah	1	Jehu	1			8	130
	2		2			9	131
	3	Foundation of	3	New Carthage		10	132
	4		4			11	133
Jehoash	34	Jehoahaz	12	Pygmalion dies		36	169

A. M. 3163.

THIS

THIS Table combines the Phenician with the Hebrew Annals, during the lapse of 180 years, ending A. M. 3163, which is the 69th before the first Olympiad.

THE primary end of inserting it here was to vindicate and confirm the computation of Sir I. Newton, who, by various methods of proof, establishes the conclusion, that Troy was overthrown about the 76th or 78th year from the demise of Solomon. From all the three columns, it is intuitively obvious, that this prince died in the 36th year after the foundation of the Temple, co-incident with A. M. 3030; for $2994 + 36 = 3030$. It is equally evident, that the catastrophe of Troy stands in chronological connexion with the 114th from the foundation of the Temple, A. M. 3108: the 1st of Matgenus, the father of Dido, the 21st of Ahab, and the 18th of Jehoshaphat;—precisely the 78th from the demise of Solomon: or nearly three centuries subsequent to the old erroneous chronology.

THE ancient writers, Thucydides, Dion. of Halicarnassus, &c. define the date of some events by a determinate number of years prior to the fall of Troy, as the expedition of the Argonauts; others by a posterior term, as the return of the Heraclidæ, the origin of Rome, &c. But such vague arrangements explain nothing; because the term of computation, or fixed point, supposed to be universally well known, is itself involved in obscurity impenetrable.

THE author last mentioned, with all the solemn formalities of indefectible precision, informs his readers, that "Ilium was taken, at the end of the spring, on

the 8th day before the end of Thargelion, according to the Athenian Calendar, and 17 days before the summer solstice *." The year of no national era is expressed; nor was it possible. At the time when Troy was buried under her own ashes, the Olympiad had not become a chronological epoch, Rome was not built, Nabonassar, yet unborn, was not the subject of history. The notations, specified by this learned Historian are astronomical; and by his reckoning the summer solstice fell on the 12th day of the month July, in the Julian year of the World 2823, almost three centuries, as already noted, before the true date of that memorable catastrophe.

THIS fixed period, suppose it marked with every possible criterion of scientific truth, if absolutely considered, is *frivolous*; but, if with reference to events prior, co-existent, or more recent, *important*. That, in this latter view, Sir Isaac understood such historical incidents as the Argonautic expedition, the overthrow of Troy, the regrefs of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, &c. is naturally inferred from his own very judicious remark; "These periods, being settled, become the foundation for building on them the chronology of ancient times, and, for settling this chronology, nothing more remains to make these periods a little exacter, if it can be, and to shew how the rest of the antiquities in Greece, Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea, and Media, may suit therewith †."

* Dion. Hal. Rom. Antiq. B. v. C. 63.

† Chron. p. 126.

THE illustrious author might have included Phœnicia, whence he supposes, "that the Sidonians, in the 15th of David's reign, or thereabout, emigrated under Abibalus, Cadmus, Cilix, Thafus, Membliarius, Atymnus, and other captains, to Tyre, Aradus, Cilicia, Rhodes, Caria, Bithynia, Phrygia, Calliste, Thafus, Samothrace, Crete, Greece, and Libya*." To the same age is referred the building of Tyre, Thebes, &c.

IN this passage Abibalus is affirmed to have been a fugitive from Sidon. But in the fragment from Menander, it is said, that he died and was succeeded by his son Hiram, who, with his descendants, kept possession of the throne, at least two centuries, from the accession of Abibalus, to whom Marshall in his Chronological Tables assigns a reign of 19 years, prior to the sole administration of Hiram. On this hypothesis Abibalus was made king of Sidon in the 12th of David. His predecessor was Agenor, the father of Cadmus, whose elder brother Phœnix, having been born in the country, was called by its name. Cadmus and Phœnix were certainly coeval with Danaus, because he had a daughter, Amyclone, by their sister Eurôpa. Marshall dates the migration of Cadmus from Phœnicia, about 10 years earlier than that of Danaus from Egypt; though he connects the arrival of both in Greece nearly with the time of the Exodus. The authority of Josephus has already been mentioned, stating that the Israelites left

* p. 105.

Egypt 393 years before that expedition of Danaus : and the same writer asserts, that Tyre was built 240 years before Solomon's temple. Both these notations are more probable, as less incongruous with genealogy and history, than the reckoning in the *Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended*.

If Sir I. Newton's assigned term for the downfall of Troy disagree with his own arrangements for the rise of the Boeotian Thebes, and the Phenecian Tyre, it harmonises with the history of the age to which it is referred. A few instances are subjoined.

1. THE three years of dearth foretold by Elijah in the days of Ahab is recorded, in the fragment from Menander, to have happened in the reign of Ethbaal king of Tyre, and father of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, king of Israel *.

2. WITH the termination of the Trojan war is connected the history of Athens, and the other Grecian states; for that city surrendered in the 22d of Menestheus, Archon of Athens †.

3. THE father of Pygmalion and Dido was known by sundry names, Agenor, Belus, Matgenus, Mettes, not to mention other variations; but his history is signalised by two notable events, the fall of Troy in the first, and the rise of New Salamis in the 8th of his reign.

* Compare 1 Kings, xvi. 31. and chapters, xvii. xviii. with Josephus, Ant. B. viii. ch. xiii. 1, 2.

† Par. Chron. Epoch. 25.

4. **SUNDRY** memorable incidents distinguish the reign of Pygmalion, e. g. ; in his 7th year the flight of his sister Dido ;—the execution of Jezebel, of Ahaziah and Joram, kings of Jerusalem and Samaria ;—and that revolution which brought Athaliah and Jehu each to a vacant throne ;—in the 10th the foundation of New Carthage. Obvious is the use of chronological characters, so numerous, so decisive, and all crowded into so narrow a compass, that they derive mutual elucidation from contiguity of time, and co-existent personages.

5. **BY** a singular felicity of conjecture, which sometimes reconciles apparent contradictions in historical records, has Sir Isaac rectified that notorious anachronism, which ignorance, and false erudition have laid to the charge of Virgil, in asserting, that Æneas was coeval with Dido. Those of the critics who affect the greatest indulgence to this poet's reputation as an accurate chronologer and genealogist, offer two apologies for this confusion of times, events, and characters. Some of them kindly allege the plea of ignorance in the antiquities and history of Tyre. This apology our very learned author repels, by evincing that both Virgil and his commentator Servius, not only had access to the archives of Tyre, Cyprus, and Carthage, but affirm, with the accuracy of historians, the co-existence of Teucer, Æneas, and Dido, about the period of the Trojan war. Others admit the poet's skill in the chronology and history of Troy, Tyre, and Africa, but suppose that he had recourse, for the sake of embellishment, to a poetical licence. This feeble effort,

to save the poet's credit, betrays the ignorance, and injudicious zeal of his friends, the critics. That he needed no such jejune defences, has fully been shewn in a learned dissertation on the subject*.

It must however, be owned, that Virgil was in part misled by the *old* artificial chronology, particularly in giving the sanction of infallibility to that oracle, which foretold a reign of 300 years to the kings of Alba, his conducting Æneas to Carthage in the 7th year of his voyages †, that is, 8 years prior to the flight of Dido from Tyre, and full four years after his own death. But these deviations from historical truth do not affect the credibility of the fact, that this hero and heroine were contemporary; which they might be, on the supposition that they never had an interview.

* See Dissertations, and critical Remarks, on the *Æneid* of Virgil, by John Martyn, F. R. S. Lond. 1770. In the first Dissertation, Sir I. Newton's arguments are happily illustrated and confirmed.

† ——— Te jam septima portat

Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus æstas. *Æneid*, i. 759.

Here the 7th summer from the conflagration of Troy is specified. But in a former passage of the same Book, v. 169. Jupiter promises to Æneas, in the oracular stile, a reign of three years after his arrival in Latium:

Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderat æstas,

Ternaque transierint Rutulis hierna subactis.

If these three years be added to the 7th from the date of this expedition, he must have survived the fall of Troy 10 years; a period incompatible with that history, or rather tradition, which assigns but seven years to his life after that catastrophe. See Marshall's *Chron. Tables*, 1184. before the Christian era.

6. * WHEN the Romans conquered the Carthaginians, the archives of Carthage came into their hands; and thence Appian, in his history of the Punic wars, tells, in round numbers, that Carthage stood 700 years. Solinus adds the odd number 37. It was destroyed in the consulship of Lentulus and Mummus, A. P. Jul. 4568; whence count backwards 737 years, and the Encœnia or Dedication of the city, will fall upon the 16th year of Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, and king of Tyre *." With all deference be it suggested, that, if from 4568, be subtracted 737, the remainder 3831, will denote the number of the Julian Period, coincident with the first of Carthage; and, by the Table, its foundation was laid in the 10th of Pygmalion, and 18th from the catastrophe of Troy. In this one character of times, Sir I. Newton's intuitive perspicacity seems to have failed. This great man refers to no historical voucher, in support of his position, that the years of Carthage were anciently reckoned from the dedication of the city, and not from the date of the first building. History justifies this computation in no other instance, and does not mention this, as an exception from a general rule. From the sole authority of this eminent writer has the hypothesis derived traditional credit. But probable circumstances remonstrate. Necessity, not choice, induced Dido to undertake that expedition, of which safety, not empire, was the primary object. She launched with a few ships, indif-

* Chron. p. 65.

serently manned, and found it necessary to disembark at Cyprus, where, having acquired a reinforcement, she resumed the voyage, landed on the African coast, and having ratified commercial treaties with the natives, formed at last the project of erecting a fortress *. The foundation of Byrsa is, in the table, referred to the third year after her expedition from Tyre, precisely 737 prior to the desolation of the city by Scipio. Sir I. Newton seems to have fallen into an egregious mistake, when he reckons from the 16th of Pygmalion, A. P. Jul. 3837, for the interval hence to the desolation of Carthage, is but 731, instead of 737.

THIS era, the downfall of Troy, so very memorable in the mythology of Greece, yet so inaccurately defined by chronological notations in the annals of the Gentiles, Sir Isaac Newton has ascertained by the various, but combined operations of astronomy, chronology, genealogy, and history. The result of such multiplied experiments is, that Troy was reduced to desolation A. M. 3108; 124 years before the restoration of the Olympiads by Iphitus, and 18 prior to the foundation of Carthage by Dido.

THE discovery of a source for computation in the times antecedent to the epoch of astronomical chronology among the gentiles, similar to the Christian era, (a term peculiarly and exquisitely subservient for connecting the history of the Old Testament with that of the New, and, in certain periods of time, the

* Justin, lib. xviii. 4—6.

mixed with the profane), is a valuable acquisition to the stock of general knowledge ; for which the present and succeeding generations are, and will be, indebted to the patient industry, and exploring genius, of the incomparable Sir I. NEWTON. * The application of this fixed term, to the times before and after the Fall of Troy, is reserved for the subject of the ensuing chapter.

* Mr. Martyn, in that morsel of exquisite criticism, the Dissertation above quoted, defends Virgil in points not necessary to the truth of computation, and which history cannot admit. Æneas reigned four years together with Latinus, and three more after his colleague's decease. He therefore died about the end of the seventh year from the fall of Troy, and consequently before Dido's retreat from Tyre. This author's concluding remark is judicious. " Every impartial reader will be satisfied that Virgil is acquitted from the anachronism laid to his charge. Had Sir I. Newton undertaken professedly to vindicate Virgil, we might have suspected, that he was blinded by partiality to that great poet ; but as that is not the case, we must look upon him as an impartial judge, and may observe with pleasure, that as Virgil is undesignedly justified, so the authority of that noble poet confirms this amendment of ancient chronology, by our great philosopher."

CHAP. IV.

The Subject continued.

OF many ancient cities, once populous, and the seats of empire, arts, commerce, legislation; so very singular has been the fate, that the spots, where some stood, and the times when others rose or fell, have long since become the subject of controversy among antiquaries. In fable, and in history, Babel, Memphis, Thebes, and Troy, have, for ages past, been obsolete names, besides which no memorial remains. By comparing together a few notations of times and pedigrees, still extant in the records of past ages, subservient to connect the Tyrian Annals with those of the Hebrews and Greeks, Sir I. Newton acquired the honour of a discovery, much more valuable, than would have been the restoration of Troy from her ruins, projected by the first two Cæsars.

CENSORINUS, and the other ancient writers who ventured to define the interval from the Fall of Troy to the first Olympiad, waver in their opinions, and pronounce with uncertainty. The least specified number is 395, the greatest 436: but the intermediate space, according to Sir I. Newton, did not exceed 125. No

other arrangement admits so many and decisive signatures of credibility. If this date be considered as an infallible chronological character, and as the center of computation for prior and subsequent occurrences, future chronologers may, perhaps with success, rest their engines on this fulcrum, and eventually rectify certain hypotheses assumed, and conclusions educed, in the Newtonian chronology. An experiment, for a sample, may now be tried.

It has, with every colour of probability, been assumed, that 17 Utopian kings in Sicyon, before Epopeus, ought to be retrenched, because this list makes Egialeus, its first founder, 300 years older than his brother Phoroneus. Marsham, biassed in favour of the Old Chronology, places the Argive era 260 years higher than the Attic; and consequently Phoroneus as long before Cecrops I. This computation Sir I. Newton virtually reprobates, by assigning almost one common date to the capital cities, Argos, Sicyon, and Athens*.

CADMUS and Danaus have generally been reckoned coeval with the Exodus. Sir Isaac refers the expedition of the former into Greece to the 14th or 16th of David's reign, and that of the latter to the 14th of Rehoboam. The interval is 80 years. Europa, the sister of Cadmus, is said to have been the mother of Amymone, one of Danaus's 50 daughters. This disproportion of age brings suspicion on the reckoning.

* Short Chronicle, 1080.

Sir I. Newton's zeal to abbreviate the extravagant computations of the untutored, and vain glorious gentiles, induced him in this, and several other cases, to overshoot the mark.

Reasons for anticipating the time of Danaus.

HIRAM's accession to the throne of Sidon must have been coincident with the 31st of David, because the 12th of Hiram was the 4th of Solomon. Marshall's Tables assign a reign of 19 years to Abibalus, whose predecessor seems to have been Phœnix, the son of Agenor, and brother of Cadmus and Europa. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, testifies from documents extant in his time, that the Israelites left Egypt 316 years before Danaus went to Argos. Josephus, quoting the same author, Manetho, and adding the same remarks, enlarges the interval to 393; so that Danaus emigrated from Egypt to Argos 136 years before the 14th of Rehoboam, and with this date the arrival of Cadmus in Bœotia agrees. Other circumstances confirm this arrangement. No vestige of alphabetical composition before Moses is either proved or probable. The Phœnicians acquired this art from their near neighbours, the Hebrews; and after the lapse of four centuries almost, it is supposable that Cadmus might import the discovery into Greece. That he actually did, is the uniform report of fable, tradition, history, or whatever evidence it was, which propagated the universal opinion of antiquity. In Greece, as in other countries, slow was the reception, and partial the progress,

gress, of an art, so happily adapted for the expedition, and ease, of correspondence ; not to mention its use in perpetuating the records of memorable deeds. One reason is obvious ; the imperfect state of mechanical knowledge, in framing the instruments and materials for writing, with facility, compositions of a moderate size, and portable weight. But whatever were the obstacles to the speedy and diffusive use of written language, the only example in Homer of a missive letter, in Greece, prior to the Trojan war, is that of Proetus king of Argos, committed to Bellerophon *. Proetus was the third in descent from Danaus, and might be coeval with Solomon. Long after the conclusion of that war, so few were written compositions, that Lycurgus first imported from Crete into Greece, a manuscript copy of Homer's poems.

Origin of Hero worship in Greece.

DR. Winder, in his Chronological and Critical History of Knowledge, in its rise, progress, declension, and revival, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to Christ, shews that idolatry was not introduced before the general dispersion ; which memorable occurrence, this author brings considerably lower than his predecessors in sacred computation. Of his xiith chap. Idolatry in its several kinds is the subject ;—the worship of visible and invisible beings, as the luminaries and demons, plants and animals ;—last of all dead men. In

* Iliad, vi. 169.

chap. xv. it is evinced that hero-gods, images in human shape, and the distinction of sex, among the pagan deities, were entirely unknown, in Egypt and Greece, at least before the giving of the law to the Israelites.

THEOPHILUS of Antioch, to whom references concerning the antiquities of the profane Gentiles, are so often repeated, solemnly attests that the holy scriptures, and the giving of the law to Moses, were much more ancient than Lycurgus, Solon, Minos, the reign of Jupiter in Crete, and even the war of Troy *.

It is to be kept in mind, that Saturn, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Vesta, Ceres, &c. were once mortals, and by the superstition and ignorance of posterity, their own descendants, in the line of sovereignty especially, obtained divine honours after death. Jupiter, with his brothers and sisters, consistently with many presumptive circumstances scarcely inferior to certainty, was coeval with Cadmus and Danaus. For Cadmus was the brother of Europa, whom Jupiter, (to speak without the aid of fiction), conveyed by sea from Phoenicia into Crete.

APOLLO, Neptune, and Pluto, were the brothers of Jupiter; Neptune, by Anymone, the daughter of Danaus, became the Father of Nauplius, and thus is the co-existence of Jupiter with Danaus ascertained.

SIR Isaac Newton, by an intuitive sagacity, referred the origin of Argos, Sicyon, and Athens, to one com-

* Apolog. 290.

mon term. With respect to Athens in particular, it is recorded, that Minerva acquired the preference to Neptune in giving name to the new city, built by Cecrops. In the reign of Cranaus about 50 years after its foundation, a certain criminal process, in a trial for murder, shewed the genealogy of the families concerned, at that period of time. Mars, a son of Jupiter and Juno, was, it is alleged, the first culprit arraigned at the Areopagus, for the murder of Hallirotius, who, it seems, had attempted to violate the purity of Alcippe, the defendant's daughter. In this trial Neptune was the prosecutor, because Hallirotius had been his son*. Mars was absolved by the 12 judges, who, after death, were accounted 12 gods.

To the cities, built about the same time, Troy might have been added, were it not much more probable that its origin was a great deal more ancient. The tradition is, that Scamander transplanted the first colony from Crete into Phrygia, long before the golden age, or reign of Saturn. To his successor Teucer no memorable deeds are assigned, and no years specified for his reign. From Dardanus to Priam, including both, are 6 reigns, extending to 307 years. This sum taken from 3108, the year of Troy's fall, leaves a remainder of 2801 years, reaching back to more than a century before the inauguration of Saul, and also before the existence of Cadmus, Danaus, or Jupiter. As the desolation of this city transcends the era of a true chronology, so

* See Pausanias, lib. i. ch. 28.

Sir I. NEWTON's Chronology.

the date of its rise lies beyond the most remote source of pagan history. The kings in Phrygia were older than the gods in Greece. Laomedon the father of Priam, having employed Apollo and Neptune in repairing the walls of his capital, defrauded them of their reward, which indignity provoked Jupiter to accomplish its destruction in the next reign.

By a strict attention to physical probability, textual connexion, historical confidence, parallel records, various readings, and ancient versions, it has been attempted to rectify incidental mistakes in the chronology and genealogy of the sacred writings. In the Newtonian computations are many undoubted improvements, which had escaped the scrutiny of the Christian Fathers, and such masterly critics of later times, as Petau, Scaliger, Usher, &c.—improvements, exquisitely subservient to giving order and form to the discordant annals of paganism; and it is now proposed to correct the mistakes intermingled with the very construction of the New Chronology, assuming for a source in reckoning the date assigned by Sir I. Newton for the catastrophe of Troy. A specimen has likewise been given, connecting the origin of the Greek theology with the times of Cadmus and Danaus:—an experiment hitherto unattempted, with acknowledged success.

Objections.

1. “ To the six reigns in Phrygia, prior to the conflagration of Troy, is assigned a period of 307 years, (the mean quantity being 51), disproportionate by excess

to

To the course of nature. Answer. In the foregoing Analysis it has been evinced, that the period of natural life was not reduced to the present standard before David, till whose time men generally lived 100, or 110. To the first three Trojan kings, Dardanus, Erichthonius, and Tros, is severally marked a reign of 31, 75, and 60 years, the last ending about the 26th of David's reign. The other three were in part co-existent with David, Solomon, and Aza, whose reigns amounted to 120, or 40 years a-piece. This disproportion is inconsiderable. In a more advanced period of the kings in Judah, the reigns of Joash, Amasiah, and Manasseh, were 40, 52, and 55.

Uzziah

2. *Objection.*
 "If Jupiter, Apollo, and Neptune, were men, of mature age; in the times assigned to Cadmus and Danaus, they must have been either superannuated, or dead, at the siege of Troy, after the lapse of two centuries." It is replied, Who expects to find coherence, probability, or truth, in the gentile mythology, where every thing is transformed, the man Jupiter, for instance, into a swan, then into a bull, last of all into a god? A more direct answer, however, admits the objection, in its full extent. All the personages, above mentioned, and others of the same family, were both dead and deified, before the reigns of Laomedon and Priam. These are the proofs,

1. SIR I. Newton, on the authority of Pythagoras, affirms that the sepulchre of Minos, the son of Jupiter,

was seen in Crete in the year before Christ 964, or the 14th of Rehoboam. Marsham refers to the Scholiast on Callimachus, who testified, that the word MINOS had by length of time been obliterated, and that JUPITER'S SEPULCHRE only was legible; whereas the inscription, when complete, had been, "THE TOMB OF MINOS, THE SON OF JUPITER." A remark of Epimenides, a poet coeval with Solon, arraigns the veracity of his countrymen, in a character rehearsed by an Apostle, Titus, i. 12: "The Cretans are always liars." Callimachus, a later poet, in the days of Pt. Philadelphus, repeated and exemplified the charge, in the very case now under examination: "The Cretans are always liars, because they pretended, that the tomb of Jupiter was with them; whereas they had only that of his son Minos, for Jupiter himself was immortal.*" Whether that monument and inscription were in memory of Jupiter, or of Minos, the present argument is not invalidated, for either the one or the other, perhaps both, died before the overthrow of Troy, and neither was immortal.

2. EVEN after the hero-gods had been enrolled among the celestials, they were liable to a temporary degradation, and exile. Thus Vulcan for a work of piety, towards his mother Juno, was precipitated from the summit of Olympus to the island of Lemnos. But examples, still more apposite occur.

* See Callim. Hymnum 1^o in Jovem, v. 82.

TO JUPITER, having discharged a thunderbolt which slew Æsculapius, incurred the resentment of Apollo; who in revenge murdered one of the Cyclops, usually employed in forging the artillery of the clouds; and for that offence Apollo being excluded from heaven, betook himself to the humble occupation of a shepherd. About the same time, it seems, Neptune, (not thinking the empire of the sea, equal to that of earth and heaven; conspired with other deities to dethrone Jupiter), was condemned to assist Laomedon in repairing the walls of Troy. After a train of amorous adventures, Apollo became partner with Neptune in the engagement to rebuild the Trojan walls, on the reasonable condition, that the king should restore the ornaments and treasures, which had been expended in the fortifications. In one year the work was finished; but Laomedon having defrauded the divine architects, Apollo sent a destructive pestilence among his subjects; Neptune laid waste his territories by inundations; and Jupiter, resenting the perfidy, decreed irreversibly the ruin of the kingdom and capital*. These were works proper to deities.

3. THE Palladium, or curious statue of Minerva, which, according to the oracles of fiction, was let down from heaven, near the tent of Ilus, the 4th sovereign of Ilium, while that prince was rearing the citadel;

* These coincidences of events, personages, and times, indicate the particular period when Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, and god of medicine, flourished. Homer, (*Iliad*, iv. 193.) mentioning Machaon, the son of Æsculapius, among the heroes at Troy, confirms this arrangement.

evinces that the goddesses had previously retired from the stage of mortality. Anciently deification was a ceremony not indulged to the living. It is mentioned as a circumstance without precedent, that divine honours were paid to some of the Cæsars before death.

3. *Objection.*

“THE Romans compute the chronology of their gods differently from the Greeks.” True; but the more recent nation assumes a less remote term. Both worshipped the same Jupiter, the son of Saturn, and sovereign of Crete. By the Greek reckoning he was coeval with the Phœnician Cadmus, and the Egyptian Danaus; and all three flourished in the late years of Samuel's government: by the Roman, with David and Solomon. The fall of Troy has been fixed to the 78th year from the death of Solomon. Ovid introduces Ajax supporting his claim to the armour of Achilles by the consideration that he was the third in descent from Jupiter, who, by allowing three generations for a century, was a mortal king, and coeval with David. But if his reign were likewise co-existent with the rise of the Bœotian Thebes, in the days of Cadmus, he must have been dead long before the overthrow of Troy. In the fictitious theology of paganism, the actions of this and the other mortal heroes are often blended, in promiscuous confusion, with those of the immortal gods. In like manner the Greek chronology makes Venus, the mother of Hermione, coeval with Cadmus; and that of the Romans represents her as the mother
of

of Æneas. For this difference no reason can be assigned, except on the supposition, that distinct terms were assumed for the two computations.

Scheme of arrangement for the kings of Latium and Rome.

“ WHEN the Greeks and Latines were forming their Technical Chronology, great were the disputes about the antiquity of Rome. The Greeks made it much older than the Olympiads: some of them said it was built by Æneas; others by Romus, the son or grandson of Æneas; others by Romus, the son or grandson of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; others by Romus, the son of Ulysses, or of Ascanius, or of Italus: and some of the Latines at first fell in with the opinion of the Greeks, saying, that it was built by Romulus the son or grandson of Æneas. Timæus Siculus represented it built by Romulus, the grandson of Æneas, above 100 years before the Olympiads; and so did Nævius the poet, who was 20 years older than Ennius, and served in the first Punic war, the history of which he wrote. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon. But about 140, or 150, years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to say, that Rome was built a second time by Romulus, in the 15th age after the destruction of Troy. By ages they meant the reigns of the Latine kings at Alba, and reckoned the first 14 at about 432 years*.”

* Chron. p. 128.

THIS historical enumeration of dates and opinions is abridged from Dionysius of Halicarnassus *&c.*; whose testimony merits more credit, as a voucher of ancient traditions, than as an authentic record of facts. One infallible chronological character, the overthrow of Troy, Sir I. Newton has ascertained by a process of operations in reasoning, the result of which is equivalent to demonstration. The date discovered, A. M. 3108, derives confirmation from a multiplicity of coincident events, in the pedigrees of families, and the records of kingdoms, which not only enforce conviction, but reduce to an absurdity, every pretension to contradictory evidence.

By this test let the presumed date of the first Olympiad be tried. To the 18th of Jehoshaphat, A. M. 3108, add 432, the sum 3540, continues the reckoning to the 17th of Xerxes, king of Persia, or the 4th year of the 52d Olympiad, counted from the restoration of that epoch by Iphitus, A. M. 3232. Sir I. Newton, reprobating this arrangement as exorbitant, has recourse to an equation, which brings the last year of the Latine kings down to the 38th Olympiad.

By 14, the number of the kings, divide 432, the duration of their reigns, and the quotient, 31, will be the common measure nearly. This illustrious author, assigning but 20 years a-piece to each sovereign, reduces the total sum from 432 to 280. This equation is still exceptionable on the score of excess. For 3108+

280=3388, prolong the computation to the reign of Josiah; or the 3d of the 39th Olympiad. As much shorter term must be allowed for the 14 kings in latium prior to Romulus. Our worthy Reformer of ancient chronology had two justifiable methods of adjusting history by the joint aid of generations, and reigns:—He excluded such kings as had done nothing memorable, or seemed to fall under the class of Utopian princes, imaginary characters, inserted in national calendars, on purpose to amplify the accounts of time;—and abridged reigns, apparently too long, or numerous, to accord with the course of nature. It fairly admits a query, whether many of the kings between Aeneas and Romulus, were not Utopian?

If from the date of the restored Olympiad, be deducted the year of Troy's downfall (that is, $3232 - 3408 = 124$), the result of the operation is the astronomical interval; and why should historical arrangements be constructed, in contradiction to physical truth? In the passage above quoted immediately from Sir I. Newton, on the authority of Dionysius the Halicarnassian, is recorded the testimony of several ancient writers, (prior in time to Alexander the Great), whose belief it was, that a grandson, or great grandson, of Aeneas laid the foundation of Rome; whether Romulus and Remus were the founders, or either, is an indifferent circumstance. Sir Isaac has overlooked a remark of Dionysius, which is, "That Cephalon, a very ancient author, referred the building of Rome to the second generation after the Trojan war, by a colony who

escaped from Troy with *Aeneas*; that its founder was *Remus*, the leader of the colony; that he was a son of *Aeneas*, and that *Romulus* was one of four brothers by the same father. *Demagoras*, *Agathyllus* also, and many others, agree in the circumstance of time, and in the conductor of the expedition*. *Dionysius* adds many testimonies of Roman writers, who unanimously affirmed that a Trojan colony settled in Italy soon after the Trojan war; and that Rome was built after the second generation in the line from *Aeneas*. An interval of 15 generations, Sir Isaac Newton admits, was never pretended till after the rise of the Greek Empire; six full centuries after the conflagration of Troy.

THE more ancient writers of all nations never incurred the censure of affecting an extravagant antiquity. Among the Jews, *Moses* was more moderate than *Josephus*; and the more ancient authors in Greece and Rome, than their successors. This consideration supports the not improbable conjecture, that the interval from the period of the Trojan war to the first Olympiad, has been protracted to a duration which no evidence can justify, or even credulity admit.

SUPPOSE, what Sir I. Newton will not allow, that the Varronian era was the third of the 6th Olympiad, or the 23d from the restoration of that chronological term, Rome began to be built 147 years after the fall of Troy. For $124 + 23 = 147$; and $3708 + 147 =$ A. M. 3255, coincident with the first year of *Romulus*.

* *Rom. Ant.* lib. i. c. 32.

and left by us, that the first year of the Varonian reckoning; A. M. 3256.

THE Newtonian computation proceeds on the postulate, that the reigns both in Latium and Rome are to be reduced. But the latter clause of the postulate is inadmissible, because no scheme of historical arrangement can vindicate the propriety, or truth, of deferring the accession of Romulus, or the origin of his capital, to the 38th Olympiad. That great man might, without the least suspicion of violating physical probability, have retrenched the number of the Latian kings. By 14 divide 147, the result is 10 years 6 months each. These reigns are shorter by one half than Sir Isaac is willing, in other cases, to admit. At the rate of 5 reigns for a century, and proportionally for the residuary number, seven intermediate princes might exhaust the space from the fall of Troy to the rise of Rome, equivalent to about four generations of 33 years one with another.

THE date assigned in the *Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended*, for the subversion of Priam's capital, is in reality that fixed point, whence commences certainty in computation by the national eras of paganism; because the time of that catastrophe is defined, by a cluster of chronological notations, which bring into coincidence the history of the Hebrews, with that of the co-existing pagan establishments. Some of the more notable synchronisms, in the natural order, are, by way of recapitulation, subjoined.

I. JEHOSEPHAT,

1. JEHOSEPHAT, Ahab, and Ethbaal, were contemporary sovereigns in Jerusalem, Samaria, and Sidon; for Ahab married Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal, and Jehoshaphat's son, Jehoram, married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab.

2. TROY was laid in ashes in the reigns of the same Jehoshaphat and Ahab, as also in that of Agenor, Belus, or Matgenus, the grandson of Ethbaal.

3. NEW SALAMIS in Cyprus was founded seven years after the conflagration of Troy, by Taucer the son of Telamon, in whose family the sovereignty continued seven centuries, in that island.

4. ÆNEAS about the same time became the father of kings, in a new series, over Latium, prior to Romulus. This series contains 14 names, to whose reigns is assigned a period of 432 years, which Sir I. Newton reduces to 280 *. The annexed Table will perhaps evince, that even the less number exceeds the truth.

* Such is the diversity of names, that the number of sovereigns, and the order of succession, cannot easily be ascertained. Æneas the father of the colony, to whom Dionysius assigns a reign of 7 years from the fall of Troy, is excluded. This little addition makes the sum total 432, as in the next page. But the number of reigns thus enlarged, exceeds 14 by unity.

OVID.	EUSEBIUS.	LIVY.	DIONYSIUS.	
Afcanius	Afcanius	Æneas	Afcanius	38
Sylvius	Sylvius	Afcanius	Sylvius	29
	Æneas	Sylvius	Æneas	31
Latinus	Latinus	Latinus	Latinus	51
Alba	Alba	Alba	Albas	39
Epytus	Sylvius, Athis	Atis	Capetus	26
Capys	Capys	Capys	Capys	28
Calpetus	Calpetus	Calpetus	Calpetus	13
Tiberinus	Tiberinus	Tiberinus	Tiberinus	8
Agrippa	Agrippa	Agrippa	Agrippas	41
Remulus	Remulus	Remulus	Allades	19
Aventinus	Aventinus	Aventinus	Aventinus	37
Proca	Procas	Proca	Procas	23
Numitor	Amulius	Amulius	Amulius	42

IN these four editions the names, and order of succession, are too much at variance to acquire the credit due to authentic records. The numbers taken from Dionysius do not amount to 432. He assigns indeed 7 years to the first Æneas and his predecessor Latinus; which fill the blank. Proper, but inefficient, is Sir Isaac Newton's scheme for reducing the quantum of these reigns from 432 to 280 years, as it has been shewn, that the space, between Latinus and Romulus, cannot exceed 147 years. Absolutely necessary it is to retrench the one half of the nominal kings, that the arrangements

arrangements by generations and reigns may correspond to the national eras, by which the history of the times is to be adjusted.

5. Dido the great grand-daughter of Ethbaal laid the foundation of Carthage in the 18th year from the desolation of Troy, as formerly mentioned, in coincidence with sundry chronological characters. As the history of this new state is incorporated with that of the Roman Empire, the time of its origin is an acquisition of no small importance.

6. A. M. 3232 IPHIGENEIA restored the Greek Olympiad 124 years after the conclusion of the Trojan war, and 7 after the foundation of Carthage. It is not alleged that this year was distinguished by the exhibition of the usual solemnities, but that is affirmed to be the true source whence the first circulating period of four years, characterised as the original Olympiad, begins. One invariable criterion discriminates the years on which prizes were adjudged to the victors—they were BISSEXTILE. This appropriate and exclusive mark of the periodical quadriennium in Greece, is the more remarkable, as prior in time to the knowledge of the astronomical reason, which requires the intercalary day: for it is observed by Mr. Costard, "That the time is uncertain when it was discovered that the true length of the solar year was 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days; but probably not much before the time of Eudoxus, that is, 363 years before our era:" or, 413 subsequent to the era of the restored Olympiad *. This noted term

* See COSTARD'S *Astronomy of the Ancients*, 1746, p. 36.

of computation, Sir Isaac Newton admits, was called, by the Greeks, the source of HISTORICAL time. But he adds, "The fabulous ages wanted a good chronology, and so also did the historical for the first 60 or 70 Olympiads.*"

If this postulate be implicitly admitted, the illustrious author's arrangement, which defers the foundation of Rome to the 38th Olympiad, is involved in all the uncertainty of the fabulous ages; nay, it may be doubted whether the first year of the 68th Olympiad were the true date of the Regifuge; as is asserted, without a peradventure†. Suppose the consulate introduced with the ensuing year, this important revolution is characterised by a very ambiguous point in time;—that imperceptible line which divides the historical from the fabulous ages.

7. IN the year of the world 3255 was the foundation of Rome laid, 147 from the fall of Troy, 139 from the rise of Carthage, and 23 from the revival of the Olympiad †. Sir I. Newton's rash and groundless hypothesis,

* Chron. p. 44.

† Chron. p. 130.

‡ Sir I. Newton says, that Varro computes the first of Rome from the first of the sixth Olympiad, Chron. p. 119. This erroneous date is, without the least suspicion of fallacy, copied from Dionysius the Antiquary, lib. i. c. 72. In the 74th chapter of the same book he remarks, "Porcius Cato adopts no Grecian account, but being no less accurate in collecting ancient historical facts, than the very best writers, he connects the building of Rome with the 432d after the taking of Troy. This term, compared with the tables of Eratosthenes, coincides

hypothesis, which protracts the building of Rome to the 38th Olympiad, incurs the censure of an egregious metachronism. The word *protracted* is here fitly used, for certain it is, that the work was begun 130 years earlier. The Olympiad from its restoration did not immediately become a general term in reckoning, even among the Greeks. If the Romans, after several centuries, began to connect their own history with the chronology of the Olympiads, their notations, if supported by various probabilities of certainty, are not to be rejected, as of doubtful credit. On this foot, Eutropius, and others, who assign the third of the vith Olympiad for the historical origin of Rome, are not to be suspected of credulity or falsehood.

... coincides with the first of Olympiad vii. If Cato, followed no Greek chronologer, he ventured to introduce a computation of his own. The first Varronian year of Rome did coincide in January A. P. J. 3961, with which month began A. U. C. 1; and the third year of the vith Olympiad expired about the time of the ensuing summer solstice. By the *Festus Consularis* the fourth of the vith Olympiad is the first of Rome; and, by the Catonian era, this date is brought one year lower still. Unavoidable is the conclusion that Dionysius and Sir I. Newton fell into a mistake, when they affirmed the synchronism of the Varronian epoch, with the first of the vith Olympiad. With an obvious neglect of propriety, does the great antiquary connect the first year of Romulus with the third of the Varronian era.

FROM

FROM Dionysius * are collected the following appropriate notations, expressing the dates of reigns.

REIGNS.	DATES.	AUTHORITIES.
Romulus	1 Olympiads	vii. Books and Chapp. f. 167.
Numa Pompilius	3	xvi. ii. 58.
Tullus Hostilius	2	xxvii. iii. 1.
Ancus Marcius	2	xxxv. iii. 37.
Tarquinius Priscus	2	xli. iii. 47.
Servius Tullius	4	l. iv. 2.
Tarq. Superbus	4	lxi. iv. 42.
Brutus & Collatinus, the first pair	4	lxviii. of Consuls. v. 1.

THUS the reigns of the seven kings, from Romulus to the first pair of Consuls exclusively, amount to 244 years. The reasons, which militate against Sir I. Newton's reduction of them to 119, have already been set forth at large; and if the objections, to the abbreviation of reigns, be satisfactory and insurmountable, no inducement occurs for bringing the date of the Varonian computation forward to the year before Christ 627, as in the SHORT CHRONICLE. The penetrating author seems to have been aware, that his scheme for bringing the overthrow of Troy almost 300 years lower than the general opinion, would not escape the rod of criticism. He therefore judged it proper not to incur the suspicion of compressing, at one bold opera-

As Dionysius professedly adopts the Catonian reckoning, which brings the several dates two years lower than the Varonian, the accession of Romulus must be computed from the 3d of the vith Olympiad, the first consulate from the 4th of the lxviith, and each intermediate date carried two years higher.

tion,

tion, 432 years into 124. Much more plausible it was to extend an expedient of gradual retrenchment through 696 nominal years, comprehending 21 reigns, all which reigns it was judged advisable to retain, but to exclude 277 years, as incompatible with the course of nature in generations.

SUFFICE it to have mentioned, without an intent to amplify, certain instances of deviation from the truth of chronology, history, and nature, in detached parts of this extensive work. It must not, however, be dissembled, that certain decisions of this great master in computation, contradict assumed principles, and shake the foundation of pre-established discoveries.

WITH a felicity of uniting dispersed materials, (a talent almost peculiar to himself); Sir I. Newton found that Carthage was destroyed A. P. Jul. 4568;—that it had stood 737 years;—that it had been built A. P. Jul. 3831. Easy it was to recollect that the year, when Carthage was overthrown, coincided with the 698th from the foundation of Rome: and that $4568 - 668 = 3900$, which operation continues the reckoning back to the first half of the third year in the 6th Olympiad, or the true source of the Varroian epoch. Thus Sir I. Newton's principles, fairly applied, invalidate his own decisions: for $3900 - 3831 = 129$, by which quantity Carthage was older than Rome. But if the foundation of the latter were laid after the lapse of 38 Olympiads, the difference in time is 260 years. Besides the incongruity of shifting terms, the age of Carthage being measured by the years of Rome, computed

computed from the 6th Olympiad, and then this foundation is removed, and the interval enlarged by one half, with respect to the date of the two cities, but diminished with respect to the term of co-existence. This mode of computation resembles some of the plausible fallacies in logic. Besides this obvious incongruity, another and greater perplexity occurs. The first Punic war broke out in the 188th consulate from the expulsion of the kings; A. Claudius Caudex, and M. Fulvius Flaccus, then holding the fasces. Sir Isaac allows but 119 years for the period of monarchy: and $188 + 119 = 307$, denotes the year of Rome according to the CHRONOLOGY of ancient Kingdoms attended, at the commencement of the first Punic war. By the same authority Carthage had stood 367 years. The very supposition that Rome, at so very early a period, was more than a match for Carthage, exhibits the aspect of something more than a historical paradox.

3. IN the 6th year from the Varronian Era, inclusively, began the famous computation called The Era of Nabonassar, on the partition of the Assyrian Empire by him and Tiglath-Pileser. Bishop Beveridge extols it, as a very accurate character of Times, and incapable of deception*.

AN account of its form, mechanism, and quantity, is incompatible with the narrow limits of this Appendix. As a term in computation it obtained a general and

* Hæc epochâ nihil in totâ chronologiâ celebrius, nihil cognitu magis necessarium, utpote qui exactissimus, est temporum character, et fallere nescius. Infit. Chronol. lib. ii. cap. 16. 1.

almost exclusive reception, over Assyria, Chaldea, Egypt, Media, and Persia. With its first year Ptolemy began his very learned performance, the *Mathematical Syntaxis*, and Dean Prideaux, his excellent *Connexion* of the Old and New Testament History with that of Paganism. It serves as an infallible directory for the chronology and history of the times, under the successive monarchies, during the lapse of nine centuries.

THAT very eminent author continues his valuable work down to the time of M. Antoninus, and, not without obvious propriety, concludes his researches, after having ascertained a sufficient number of fixed periods, which may be prolonged indefinitely in the progressive series of years and centuries, for conducting future adventurers through the thorny paths of chronological disquisition. Such has the writer of these sheets found them. The sanguine desire of improving the useful discoveries of his ingenious and learned predecessors, for facilitating progress in sacred literature, has prompted him to strike out, in many cases of difficult investigation, a new track for himself; cautious, on the one hand, of innovation, and on the other, of intemperate censure.

THE primary inducement to an enterprize so complicated and extensive, was the correction of those numbers, relative to family pedigrees and chronology, which, seemingly at mutual variance, incongruous with nature, or intuitively absurd, either mar the sense, or impair the credibility, of many such notations in the sacred volumes. For the attainment of an end so

desirable, recourse was had to various expedients, and to many without effect. As a series of genealogies, or intervals of lineal descent from a first ancestor, is the sole basis of the sacred chronology, during the long space of 25 centuries prior to the Exodus;—and, as the inspired writers were directed to number the intermediate generations from the creation to our era;—it seemed reasonable to conclude, that genealogy is an ingredient, essential to certainty in the computation of times, so remote.

WITHOUT a scheme of chronology framed according to the natural measures of time, and to instituted combinations of its integral parts, that accuracy in computation, which excludes the possibility of deception, is not attainable.

SUPPOSE a history constructed on such infallible principles, it must extend back to the primary source of measured time, otherwise that radical point, whence PROCREATION begins, cannot be ascertained.

THE Bible History alone mentions a BEGINNING of computation by natural days. These are combined into weeks; these into months, so denominated from periodical aspects of the moon; and months into years. Years are distinguished into lunar, luni-solar, solar-tropical, and sidereal. Whatever might have been the form or dimensions of the civil years, in diverse ages or climates, the solar-tropical of 365d. 5h. 48m. 57s. was the standard of computation among the Patriarchs, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews. Hence it is collected that their computations were conformable to the natural

measures of time, in its various integral parts. Years too were combined into larger integral parts, of unequal quantity, called INTERVALS or FIXED PERIODS, whence new terms in computation, each beginning with unity.

COMPUTATION derives additional certainty from the periodical solemnities of the Jewish worship, regulated by the phases of the moon, and adjusted to the apparently annual circuits of the sun.

By all these, and many other expedients, suggested from natural phenomena, in connexion with institutions civil and sacred, has it been attempted to define the number of days, weeks, lunations, solstices, equinoxes, and astronomical years, from the primeval week to that of our Lord's resurrection. From the vague, fictitious, and contradictory annals of paganism, impossible it is to solve a problem, for which operation the Bible alone affords sufficient principles. The past duration of the solar system is a discovery, derived solely from the books of Moses : and the ancient history of the pagan world must be adjusted to that standard, not the sacred history to the annals of the gentiles.

THOUGH unequivocal and decisive in this matter are the notations of times in the books of Moses and the Prophets, yet it is with truth affirmed, that such notations have not yet been generally understood, and judiciously applied. Foreign chronologers, such as Scaliger and Petau, mistook by many years the first point in historical time. Our revered countryman, Sir Isaac Newton, left this point unexamined. Bedford and Kennedy

Kennedy rectified Usher's primary term in computation, but retained all his subsequent misarrangements.

In the foregoing Analysis, the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch has been adopted as the model of computation prior to the birth of Abram, in the 130th year of his father Terah. To the critical annotations of Wall, Kennicott, Mill, Kuster, Wetstein, Bowyer, and others, the author acknowledges his obligations for various readings in the printed and manuscript copies of both Testaments, by which several numerical mistakes have been rectified. In some cases parallel texts, in others the course of nature, or historical connexion, have been admitted, as equivalent to the authority of approved various readings in particular texts or their versions, especially those of the earliest dates.

THE writer of these papers restricted his enquiries to those numbers alone, which he judged subservient to the elucidation of the Sacred Annals, with a reference to *chronology, genealogy, and history*. Few and inconsiderable are the proposed emendations, which rest on no better authority, than his own private conjecture.

THE texts where these emendations have been proposed, the numbers to be corrected, and the subjects to which they refer, are specified as below,

Rehoboam's age for	41	read	27	1 Kings	xiv.	20.
Amon's	22		42	2 Chron.	xxxiii.	21.
Josiah's	8		18		xxxiv.	1.
Zedekiah's	21		35		xxxvi.	11.
Jehoshaphat's reign	18		22	2 Kings	iii.	1.
Azi's	36		26	2 Chron.	xvi.	1.

THIS very diminutive sum of discordant numbers, in the pedigrees, and chronology of the whole Bible, does not exhibit so bulky and portentous a figure, as might be presumed, from the loud and frequent clamours of modern free-thinkers, who would not hesitate to apologize for errata far more numerous and important, in the puny volumes of Eutropius or Florus.

THESE strictures, on this great man's last bequest to the literary world, might have been extended to a much more minute specification of articles susceptible of improvement, or transcendently excellent. A small Specimen of either kind was intended to be set before the public, with quite other views, than to disparage a character, every way respectable, and whose renown his own valuable works will transmit to a very remote posterity, with increasing honour.

SIR I. Newton's principles of computation are applicable to many more historical synchronisms, than are mentioned by himself, or can here be enumerated. Those who wish to see the subject prosecuted more diffusively, from the time of the Judges in Israel to the captivity of Zedekiah, may consult Dr. Winder's *History of Knowledge*, chiefly religious, 2 vols. 4to, 1746, a work now almost forgotten.

FROM the facts established in this chapter, natural is the inference, that the fall of Troy is the rise of the true historical era among the gentiles. For, in a very short time after, commenced four famous national eras as in the subjoined scheme of their dates.

Troy

FIXED PERIODS.

423

Troy overthrown, A. P. J. 3813, coincident with	A. M. 3128
New Salamis built by Teucer	7
Dido lays the foundation of Carthage	11
Source of computation by the Olympiads	106
First Varronian year of Rome	24
First year of Nabonassar's era	6
Sir Isaac Newton's chronology ends	416

A. P. J. 4383. A. M. 3678.

ONE general reflection, though obvious, is too important to be omitted. The arts of computation had made such progress in the pagan world, that the four principal fixed periods of gentilism commenced before the Annals of the Old Testament were concluded. These periods are called the artificial chronology. But the Greeks had calculated eclipses about the time of the 70 years captivity, which is the era of astronomical chronology. Before the close of the Hebrew canon 49 of the 490 prophetic years had elapsed, so that the remaining 341, ending with the crucifixion, run parallel with the corresponding years of the Olympiad, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and of the Seleucidæ. Such was the providential care of overruling Wisdom in appointing fit and efficient means for explaining the oracles of prophecy by the chronology and history of kingdoms.

C H A P. V.

FALCONER'S *Chronological Tables.*

WHILE this last sheet was under the compositor's hands, this publication was advertised for sale. Its professed design is to construct a chronological chain, uniting the common history with the sacred, from the demise of David to that of Alexander the Great, by the late Thomas Falconer of Chester Esq. The title prompted curiosity, and even impatience, to peruse the volume, so recently announced.

IN a PREFATORY DISCOURSE of 134 quarto pages, are explained the principal columns in the *Tables*, which were intended to fill up the dark period between the *cessation* of the Jewish, and the *certainty* of the Greek history. Those on the left hand, representing the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, are regulated by the admirable system of A. B. Usher, but without following him implicitly year by year. The first column on the left hand is the Julian Period, which may be compared with that on the opposite side, denoting the years before the birth of our blessed Saviour, according to the vulgar era; and the other column of numbers, adjoining on the right hand, to the chronicle of Israel,

is meant to prove the truth of Ezekiel's prediction of 390 years, and may serve as a register of time, from that noted epoch, the separation of the two kingdoms."

Pref. p. 6. &c.

ON the plan and execution of this work, it is judged expedient to suggest a few cursory remarks.

I. USHER's *admirable* system, assigning a false date both for the creation, and for the vulgar era, takes four historical years from the age of the world, and by the same quantity anticipates the true year of our Lord's birth. Thus the interval, which comprehends 4008 astronomical years, is reduced to 4000.

To give, if possible, the figure of scientific precision to a mutilation so violent, the Primate was obliged to retrench four years from the reigns between David and the 11th year of Zedekiah. Hence the chronology of the Annals, erroneous in the beginning, middle, and end, forfeits every claim to the character of an accurate and infallible directory, for the interval.

THE great Sir Isaac Newton, projecting a well proportioned and durable fabric, had not the precaution to clear away the rubbish of the old building, before he laid the new foundation. For this reason, certain imperfections, inherent in the composition of the ANNALS, are derived to the CHRONOLOGY of ancient Kingdoms AMENDED.

MR. Falconer, not suspecting fundamental oversights in the principles assumed by his predecessors, and eager to reach the conclusion of his work, transports his readers,

readers, at once, into the very center of his subject, like Homer in the very opening of his poem,

Semper ad eventum festinat ; & in MEDIAS RES
Non secus ac notas Auditorem rapit. — HOR.

But to the grand event he speeds his course,
And bears his readers with impetuous force,
Into the MIDST of THINGS: FRANCIS.

To ascertain the true date of Solomon's accession, it is necessary, that Usher's radical mistake, in connecting the first year of historical time with the number of the Julian Period 710, instead of 706, be rectified.

FROM the creation to the demise of David, the intermediate space is 2991 astronomical years, the last incomplete, at his death. Solomon's reign is therefore dated from the Hebrew month Nisan, A. M. 2991 ; to this sum add the antemundane numbers of the Julian Period, 705, and the first of Solomon coincides with A. P. J. 3696. In the 40th of his reign he died, and that year, as incomplete, is accounted the first of Rehoboam. From the 39th, therefore, of Solomon exclusively, are the 390 years of forbearance with the apostate tribes computed :

SOLOMON'S ACCESSION.

	World.	J. Per.	B. Chr.
Historical Arrangements	2991	3696	1017
Usher's Annals	2991	3701	1013
Falconer's Tables		3703	1011

OBVIOUS

DEATH of SOLOMON.

427

OBVIOUS is the incongruity of Usher's notations for the number of the Julian Period, and the years before the vulgar era. Falconer does not follow him implicitly, year by year, and deviates so much farther from truth, by injudicious correction.

SOLOMON'S DEATH.

	World.	J. Per.	B. Chr.
Historical Arrangements	3031	3737	977
Usher's Annals	3029	3739	975
Falconer's Tables		3742	972

EXPIRATION OF THE 390 YEARS.

Historical Arrangements	3420	4125	588
Usher's Annals	3420	4130	584
Falconer's Tables		4132	582

THE true quantity of the interval from the 39th of Solomon, to the 11th of Zedekiah, excluding both, is a problem easy of solution. It is divided into three periods, as in the subjoined scheme.

1. Revolt of 1 Tribes.			2. The two thrones vacant.		3. Reduction of Samaria.	
Rehoboam	17	Athaliah	6	Hezekiah	23	
Abijah	3	Jehoash	40	Manasseh	55	
Asa	40	Amaziah	29	Amon		
Jehoshaphat	24	Uzziah	52	Josiah	31	
Jehoram	8	Jotham	16	Jehoiakim	11	
Ahaziah	1	Ahaz	16	Zedekiah	10	
		Hezekiah	6			
	<hr/> 93 <hr/>		<hr/> 165 <hr/>			<hr/> 132 <hr/>

IN col. 1. the 41st of Asa, and 25th of Jehoshaphat are, as current, accounted severally the first of the subsequent

subsequent reigns. Thus are the 95 years of this first period reduced to 93 : and $93 + 165 + 132 = 390$, the last of this number ending some time in the fourth Hebrew month of the xth of Zedekiah. This prince was taken into custody, and transported one full year, after the ultimate term of the Divine patience with the offending house of Israel.

It has been noted, that Usher assigns but 4000 years from the creation to the true historical year of the Incarnation, and that this number is deficient by eight years. Of these 4 have been restored by transferring the date of the creation from the 710th to the 706th of the Julian Period. The Primate retrenches the 23d and 24th of Jehoshaphat, the 40th of Jehoash, and the 16th of Ahaz, not only without authority, but in direct contradiction to every criterion of historical truth. Thus are the 390 prophetic years either reduced to 386, or their expiration brought four years lower than their defined period. But be these four years restored to the reigns of Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, and Ahaz, then chronology will perfectly accord with history, the true year of our Lord's birth with A. M. 4004, and the Vulgar computation with 4008. Thus far concerning those arrangements, which affect the Sacred History alone. It remains to examine

2. THE synchronisms of the Sacred and Gentile History. In his advertisement Mr. Falconer notes, "Whether we adopt the extended calculations of Eratosthenes, or those more contracted by Sir I. Newton, the scripture history is equally distinct from the profane ;
and

and the taking of Troy, wherever it is placed, has no reference to the Jewish history, or any of the kingdoms connected with it."

THIS position is rather bold than just. If it be susceptible of a good meaning, penetration, in no common degree, is requisite to make the discovery. The Scripture History is *distinct* from the Profane, because the *records* of both are distinct. But if those records which contain an account of the kings in Judah and Israel suggest plain intimations of affinity with the royal family of Tyre, and of a famine in Israel and Phœnicia, in the reigns of the contemporary princes Ahab and Ethbaal, it seems strange to affirm, that the annals of Tyre have no reference to the Jewish history. Should it appear, from any record, not formally proved to be a counterfeit, that Troy was overthrown in the archonship of Menestheus, an Athenian magistrate, co-existent with Jehoshaphat in Judah, the man who would assert, that such an event had no reference to the history of the Jews or Athenians, might justly be suspected of sceptical infatuation.

FROM various, arbitrary and equivocal, positions of Herodotus, and other authorities, equally controvertible, this writer postulates, that Troy was demolished in the 12th of Rehoboam, which year he marks in parallelism with A. P. J. 3754, and before the vulgar era 960. These notations, however, indicate the 18th of that reign; or the 60th year prior to the 18th of Jehoshaphat. *That* arrangement has not the recommendation of one decisive synchronism; *this* of Sir I. Newton derives

derives confirmation, equal to the highest degree of moral certainty, from a train of circumstances in chronology, genealogy, and history, all superior to chance, collusion, or imposture.

If these remarks be just, with respect to co-existent characters and events, among jews and gentiles, while the former had national records, and a royal calendar; it can scarcely be presumed, that these CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES will afford light sufficient, through that dark period, from the overthrow of Jerusalem to the expedition of Xerxes.

ON the principles of the old artificial chronology, this prefatory discourse has considerable merit; but a system, constructed on precarious notions, and at variance with nature and science, can add nothing to the general stock of knowledge, in comparison of which mere erudition and learning avail little. Not altogether without utility are the Tables. For, engrossed on good clean paper, and a sizeable leaf, they may probably soon find their way to those aromatic repositories,

Where pepper, odors, frankincense, are sold.

— in vicum vendentem thus et odores,

Et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis. HOR.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing pages, frequent opportunities have occurred of doing justice to the ancient Jews, as faithful guardians of the divine oracles, and of vindicating them from the very improbable slander, raised against them by several primitive Fathers, and modern critics, as if they had wilfully, and with universal consent abridged the Mosaical chronology, one generation, or two, after their general dispersion.

It is but equitable to add, that, ever from the time of that awful revolution, their descendants have uniformly disavowed, in principle and practice, all conformity with idolatrous rites, refrained from persecution, and abated in their zeal for making proselytes. In some of their convocations have they expressed their opinion, that the time for the appearance of the Messiah is past, and that, on account of their sins, their sanguine expectations have been frustrated.

ACCORDING to certain foreign gazettes, great numbers of the Jews in Italy have shewn, of late, a spirit of indifference to their religious usages, as inconvenient and unprofitable; and their Rabbies have convened a general Synod at Florence, the members being delegated from Modena, Mantua, Rome, and other cities, where the Jews have schools.—After a conference of ten days, they have determined to reform their customs, in several

several particulars: and among others to prevent hindrance of business, the sabbath shall not be observed on Saturday, but on Sunday *.

THESE resolutions intimate political wisdom, and respect for the constitutions of Christendom. One principle maintained in the preceeding ANALYSIS, confirmed by the testimony of infallible history, and demonstrated by astronomical calculation, is the transferring of the sabbath from the viith to the 1st of the week at the Exodus. By that change, and the abrogation of the Mosaical sabbath, at the resurrection of Jesus, the first day of the Jewish and Christian week, became the viith, in the rotation of weeks from the beginning. By a partial conformity with the gospel, eminently subservient to their own secular interest, the modern Jews should not scruple to observe that day, which Adam, Noah, Abraham, and all the patriarchs before Moses, did account sacred to devotion and rest.

* See the London Newspapers for April 27th 1796.

F I N I S.

(1)

PROPOSALS

FOR

PRINTING *by* SUBSCRIPTION,

RESEARCHES *into the Origin and Progress of*
Historical Time, from the Creation to the Demise
of Tiberius Nero.

IN THREE PARTS.

I. PRINCIPLES of computation by natural and instituted measures ; — days, weeks, lunations, equinoxes, solstices ; — single years, natural and civil, common and bissextile, lunar, luni-solar, solar-tropical, sidereal, historical, prophetic ; — festivals of the Jewish worship ; — years in combination or circulating periods ; the olympiad and lustrum, sabbatical years and jubiles, cycles of the sun and moon, eclipses, with their repetitions ; — fixed periods, more remarkable epochs in the sacred and gentile history ; rise and fall of ancient empires ; — chronological stile, the Gregorian adjusted to the Astronomical standard, and continued back from the time of the Nicene council to the Christian era ; thence to the origin of measured time. To all these measures are applied the generations of men, the duration of magistracies, reigns, pontificates, and other supreme or subordinate dignities.

II. HISTORICAL Arrangements from Adam to the accession of Caligula, in the year after the crucifixion ; —

A

cem-

comprehending occasional strictures on the chronological schemes of Petau, Scaliger, Isaac Vossius, Sir W. Raleigh, Sir J. Marsham, Sir I. Newton ; Archbishop Usher ; Bishops Beveridge, Clayton, Cumberland, Loyd, Mann, Newcome, Pearse, Pearson, Richardson, Squire ; the Reverend A. Bedford, Blair, Jackson, Kennedy, Kennicott, Playfair, Priestly, Strauchius, Whiston ;—as also on Grotius, Pilkington, Trapp, Yardley, and other writers on the sacred genealogies ; Payley on sabbatical institutions.

III. DISSERTATIONS on important subjects in sacred criticism, subservient to illustrate or confirm the principles and conclusions in the foregoing parts.

DISSERT. I. On the dates of the books, in which is contained the history of the Old and New Testament.

2. CHRONOLOGY of the Hebrews and Gentiles compared with respect to authority, genuineness, and truth.

3. EXAMINATION of the genealogical numbers in the Samaritan and Greek Pentateuch, Josephus, and others, discordant with the Hebrew notations, prior to the birth of Abraham.

4. HISTORY of the Sabbath from the primeval week to that of Christ's resurrection.

5. TRUE times of the Hebrew festivals from the first Passover in Egypt, to the last in Christ's ministry.

6. ORIGIN of alphabetical composition and national records.

7. MEANS

7. MEANS of preserving traditional knowledge, prior to the era of written language.

8. GRADUAL preparations for the introduction of the gospel.

ILLUSTRATED with astronomical calculations, and chronological tables. The whole intended for an improvement of Archbishop Usher's Annals, and Sir I. Newton's Chronology.

By the Rev. ROBERT WALKER, Rector of Shingham, Norfolk.

LONDON to be printed for T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, (Successors to Mr. Cadell) in the Strand.

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THE work will be printed on a fine paper, and elegant type, in two volumes quarto, price 2*l.* 2*s.* to be paid when copies are delivered to SUBSCRIBERS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

SOME readers may pronounce every attempt to erect the fabric of ancient Universal History, on the basis of Astronomical Chronology, a visionary project, to the execution of which the human faculties are inadequate. In the presumption, that the scheme is practicable, the author proceeded to collect materials, which he found to be various, suitable to the proposed end, and sufficient to enforce conviction. To facilitate the study of sacred literature, by evincing that the objections, daily

urged against the credibility of the Holy Oracles, rise from ignorance and sophistry, was his prevailing motive to this arduous enterprise.

OF truth in all its modifications God is the original source, and all his works it pervades. Nature, Providence, and Grace, are distinct departments of one grand and complex, but harmonious scheme, in which are differences of administrations, ~~but~~ the same Lord ; and diversities of operations, ~~but~~ the same God, who worketh all in all : that is, whose all powerful energy conducts to admirable and beneficial ends, the separate and combined tendencies of secondary causes, and subordinate means : not to speak of moral agents, contributing their aid, without knowledge, and often beyond their intention.

In the fashionable phraseology, nature is an independent principle, and providence, chance.—Words, as thus applied, are without a meaning. Grace too is exploded by the professed ~~principles~~ of fatality, as the chimera of superfluous and impossible. But if the universe be the result of Essential Perfection, if the events of time be controlled by all-directing Wisdom, and if the discoveries contained in the Bible were indeed vouchsafed by the “ Father of Lights, who appointed the sun, moon, and stars, their circuits in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night, and to be for signs and for seasons, and for days and years,” the obvious inference is, “ That NATURE and PROVIDENCE are subservient to the dispensation of GRACE.” If the three modes of government have one common object,

as they have one common Lord, a perfect harmony of operation is supposable, in the means, causes, and effects, employed during all the intermediate stages.

THE Sacred Annals, together with the Prophetical Oracles, define with scientific precision the interval, in days, weeks, months, and astronomical years, from Adam to the reign of Caligula; nay foretel such events as are now fulfilling, or yet to be fulfilled, prior to the consummation of things. No where else is a primary source of computation to be found. This interval is subdivided into distinct parts, each of a determinate length, and all conducive both to the ease and certainty of reckoning;—for example,

FROM Adam to Noah; hence to Abraham, and from him to Moses, is the patriarchal economy continued, and the several periods circumscribed within limits characterised by defined astronomical quantities.

IN like manner is ascertained the space from Moses to Joshua, and from the intermediate judges, to Samuel; whence the computation proceeds by Kings to the rise of the Chaldean monarchy.

THE canonical history of the Jews ends about 440 years before the crucifixion, that is, half a century after the commencement of the famous seventy prophetical weeks: 368 years from the restoration of the Olympiad, 345 from the Varronian era, and 339 from that of Nabonassar. By the seventy prophetical weeks is the chronological chain continued, from the first point in measured time, without the loss of one link; and by these three notable eras of the gentiles, is the

Sacred History brought into astronomical connexion with that of the pagan empires, in continuous succession, and co-existent periods.

CHRISTIANITY, or the doctrine of grace, is not quite so ancient as the creation. But it certainly did commence immediately with the apostacy in paradise. Before sin entered into the world, the luminaries had begun their courses, and by their periodical revolutions are measured, with an exactness, which extends to the minutest fractional parts of time, those intermediate ages from the prime source of computation to the very day, when the second Adam rose from the grave, to an endless life and universal dominion.

THOUGH it is not affirmed, that a distinct knowledge of the chronological characters, in the Bible, is of equal importance and necessity with belief in the doctrines and facts of Revelation; yet, if the veracity of the sacred writers can be established on the basis of demonstrative science, it must appear, that the objections, still urged against the credibility of the holy oracles, are the offspring of ignorance and sophistry.

FOR evincing the certainty of the Bible History, *Genealogy* is an essential ingredient. During the first three ages of the world, that is, from the creation to the Exodus, the sum of the intervals in family descents is the past duration of the planetary system. In ascertaining this criterion of chronological truth, one axiom is fundamental: "The age of procreation must accord with the standard of natural life, in the several ages of the world." This axiom merits exemplification.

1. "ALL

1. "ALL the days of Jared were 962 years, and he died." This notation harmonises with that other chronological character, which connects the birth of Enoch with the 262d year of the same Jared.

2. FROM the birth of Arphaxad to that of Nahor the grandfather of Abraham, (seven generations), the usual standard of natural life was between 250 and 300 years, and the common age of procreation 30, *plus minus*. These arrangements are congruous with the course of nature. But in the generations, after Nahor, the ultimate period of mortality was compressed within less protracted limits; and, at the same time, the mean proportion of generations was extended to 60 years and upwards, in the line at least of Terah by Abraham. That, in all the other families of Noah's progeny, and even those in the line of Shem by Haran and Nahor, the sons of Terah, procreation made a less rapid progress, during a series of generations, is not credible. But probable reasons may be assigned for a longer space between descents in the families of Isaac and Jacob, than of Ishmael and Esau. Here a minute specification would be improper.

3. AFTER Terah was the standard of natural life comprised within the space of two centuries; yet if the reckoning be continued from Judah exclusively to the descent into Egypt, he was the grandfather of two twins, Hezron and Hamul, by Pharez, the youngest of four sons, at the time of that descent: scarcely half a century. The improbable circumstances are;—

Judah's marriage was not solemnised before the 27th year of his age ;—neither was Pharez born before the expiration of 20 years more, and $27+20=47$: which obvious and short operation continues the reckoning to within two years of Jacob's removal with his whole family from Palestine to Egypt ; in which expedition, Pharez, Hezron, and Hamul, are mentioned among the threescore and six souls who accompanied Jacob and his descendants, from the 12 patriarchs. Much more natural it is to postulate, that these and many other names, now extant in the xlviith chapter of Genesis, were taken from records of a subsequent date, to fill up deficient names.

4. THE generations posterior to the entrance into Canaan, and prior to the birth of David, are but four, and the interval in time 406 years; each son must therefore have been born at or after the 100th of his father's life. In four successive instances such incidents are improbable, especially on the popular hypothesis, that natural life was reduced to its present standard so early as the egress from Egypt. Such incoherent principles and contradictory decisions, sound criticism must not only explode, but re-establish self-consistent truths.

FROM natural phenomena the sacred annals derive confirmation. Memorials of a deluge once universal exist in every climate. The accomplishment of predictions, which threatened the desolation of several cities, some of them never to be rebuilt, is recorded in authentic history, though difficult it is to ascertain the names of some, or the site of others. Of many notable

terms

terms in computation, commemorative ordinances were appointed at the time, and remain to this day ;—the weekly sabbath from the creation, the Passover and other periodical solemnities of Judaism from the Exodus, the Feast of Purim, &c. No such credentials occur in the annals of paganism. The vaunted achievements of Semiramis, Sesostris, Alexander, Augustus, &c. are not perpetuated by memorials, in a continuous series, from the ages in which they lived to the present times.

THE antiquities of Egypt have been carried thousands of years beyond those of the Hebrews; those of Chaldea, hundreds of thousands; and those of China, millions; but their wildly exorbitant computations rest on no scientific principles. Their several dynasties, constructed without regard to a first point of reckoning, to natural measures of time, or combinations of its integral parts; to generations, in a continued progression; or to historical incidents; exhibit every aspect of allegory, fiction, and deliberate forgery.

WITH the like characters of incredibility, though of an inferior degree, is the chronology of the Gr. Pentateuch chargeable. It enlarges the count of years, from Adam to Abraham by almost fifteen centuries. Not the least vestige of evidence occurs, or can be produced, to justify the conjecture, that the Mosaic numbers in the fifth and eleventh chapters of Genesis were greater in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus than in our Bibles now; or that they have been abbreviated in the intermediate ages. The Alexandrian Translators,
mised

misled by the incredible antiquity, which the Egyptian priests ascribed to their monarchy, rashly ventured to falsify the true Mosaical chronology, not by changing the genuine numerical notations, but by adding one century to the age of several patriarchs at the nativity of their specified sons. In the ivth century of the Christian era was the fraud discovered, and in part rectified, by Jerome, in his vulgate Latin version. His authority, however, was inadequate to remove the prejudices in favour of a scheme established by prescription. The Jews at last, adhering to the Mosaical text, withdrew their regard from its faulty version; and the western churches of Christendom, adopting Jerome's Latin Pentateuch, received unawares the true Hebrew chronology. Yet the Protestants at the Reformation generally approved the amplified numbers of the Alexandrian interpreters. About the middle of the past century, A. B. Usher restored the Hebrew computation, which Whiston and certain later writers have ventured once more to explode. Were this version, now preferred to the original, in every other respect superior to reprehension, in one view it is exceptionable. Moses was the first who instructed mankind concerning the origin of the world, the time of its formation, and the history of the first ages. No stress is here laid on the evidences which authenticate his special and peculiar commission, to testify that the universe is the production of wisdom, goodness, and power, all adequate to the existing phenomena. With respect to priority of time, harmony of parts, congruity with nature,

and

and every circumstance of credibility, whether intrinsic or adventitious, his report has every criterion of truth. Neither the Scribes who executed the Samaritan copy, nor the commissioners who fabricated the Greek version, and, from sinister views, corrupted the original numbers of the Pentateuch, have the least claim to implicit belief, much less to preferable credit. On the moral character of witnesses always depends the validity of their testimony. That of Moses is superior to every suspicion of deficient or fallacious materials, artfully connected to mislead a credulous multitude.

WHAT though his account of events and dates was not compiled from records of former times! Originality is not an infallible criterion of imposture. Counterfeit coin implies a pre-existent model. It must be noted, that Moses could not impose on his contemporaries a fictitious history. By his arrangements above 2500 years had elapsed from the creation to the passage over the Red Sea. From Adam to Noah tradition had passed through but 9 stages in $15\frac{1}{2}$ centuries, a term scarcely equivalent to three of our generations, as now compressed within the limits of a single century. Shem the son of Noah lived five centuries after the birth of his son Arphaxad, and consequently died in the 60th of Isaac, which is the year of Jacob's birth, co-incident with A. M. 2159. Levi, the son of Jacob, conversed with his own grandson, Amram, the father of Moses. So that from Jacob to Moses, both excluded, are but two generations during the lapse of 420 years before the Exodus;—a period, not much exceeding

2169.

exceeding 60 years of traditional history. As the memory of the patriarchs, collectively, was in the ages prior to alphabetical composition, the treasury of authentic historical truth, impossible it was for Moses to escape detection, if he had pretended to contradict the universal report of uncorrupted tradition.

INCREDULITY may still remonstrate, that tradition could not preserve pure and unvitiated the contents of the Mosaical history, during the currency of twenty-five centuries.

It is replied, that the history of the world's origin could not be known without a supernatural communication. To Adam it was first of all revealed. Who will venture to deny, that it was, if need were, repeated to Moses? A late * translator of the primeval history scruples to admit the divine inspiration of the writer. Let him enjoy all the credit and comfort of his own paradox.

IN the writings of Moses, as in the other volumes of the sacred code, are recorded many things, which human sagacity could not foresee. The Lawgiver of the Hebrews, in particular, foretold the specific punishments reserved for that people, if they should degenerate into idolatrous practices, and reject the GREAT PROPHET, to be raised up from among their brethren. They contracted that guilt, and underwent the awful judgements, which had been denounced. The dispersed and forlorn condition of their posterity, at this day,

* Geddes,

bears witness to the prophetic character of the first historian. As without a divine impulse he could not predict the events of a remote futurity, it cannot be incongruous to suppose, that, in composing the history of 25 past centuries, he was under the influence of supernatural direction.

DURING the late century, the patrons of sacred literature signified their wish to have all the existing manuscripts of the original Hebrew and Greek texts of both Testaments carefully compared, that some one copy, worthy to be admitted as the standard of textual purity, might be compiled from many, and retain the verity which pervades all. By the laudable industry and skill of several accomplished masters in sacred criticism, have the sanguine hopes of the Protestant churches been amply gratified, and not without the concurrence of the learned in the Romish communion.

SOME of the reasons urged for collating manuscript and printed copies, versions, (ancient and modern), quotations, &c. merited immediate regard, and liberal encouragement. Others specious, but nugatory, captivated the attention of the public; and by a kind of disastrous fatality, "*the worse appeared the better reason*," to perplex and dash maturest counsels." For the preference of the amplified Greek chronology to the very moderate Hebrew notations, the arguments are, "as the drop from a bucket, small dust in the balance, and less than nothing." Of a minute scrutiny, the result was a perfect harmony between all the chronological characters from Adam to Terah. Yet, as if the Hebrew numbers

numbers had, as uniformly contradictory and meritorious of reprobation, forfeited every claim to probability; the report of the Greek translators, vague as it generally is, and, in its chronology, convicted of deliberate and wilful forgery, is set forth by Whiston, Brett, Hay, Jackson, Kennicott, and Geddes, as the primary model of chronological precision.

EVERY friend to the human race, and to christianity, which comprehends the interest of the whole species, must derive pure complacence from the continually multiplying editions of the English Bible from the British press. Many of them, as specimens of elaborate mechanism, superfine paper, elegant types, superb binding, exquisite sculptures, and other exterior decorations, solicit and obtain extensive and liberal encouragement.

IT is with deference submitted to the judgement of an impartial and discerning Public, what regard may be due to Proposals, of which the ultimate object is to accomplish Sir Isaac Newton's arduous enterprize, so as to make Sacred History suit with itself, with the Annals of Paganism, with the natural measures of time, with national eras, with the course of nature in the generations of men, and with civil magistracies.

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